QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH PAPERS

PRELUDE TO PAKISTAN

20 February - 2 June 1947

APPENDICES

famous lines of Cardinal Newman

> Lead Thou me on
> Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to see
> The distant scene, one step enough for me

But now that Part II of the volume is in the press, that 'one step' does not seem to be 'enough for me' Sometimes I feel that at this stage of my life I have taken too great a responsibility However, thanks to the generous help of my colleagues in the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, I have been encouraged to continue this work In Browning's words

> Ah, but a man's reach should exceed
> his grasp,
> Or what's a heaven for?

And why should my 'reach' not exceed my 'grasp'? Jinnah's words which I committed to memory in my student days resound in my ears once again and fill me with courage and hope

> Courage, character, industry and perseverance are the four pillars on which the edifice of whole human life can be built, and failure is a word unknown to me

Z H ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
National Archives of Pakistan
Islamabad
2 June 1993

Introduction

Part I of this volume contains documents touching mostly on the political problems that Jinnah was called upon to address during the period 20 February to 2 June 1947 With a view to facilitating a fuller appreciation and understanding of some of the issues raised therein, supplementary material, culled from various sources, has been provided in Part II in the form of Appendices In all there are 14 Appendices which provide relevant evidence on a number of important issues

Appendix I contains documents reflecting the initial response of the Muslim League leadership as well as press comments on the British Government Statement of 20 February 1947 Statements indicating the Congress reaction have also been included

Appendix II contains the Cripps Offer of 1942, the thrust of which was that no province could be coerced into acceding to the Union and that an acceding province could later opt out of the Union if it so wished This Appendix also includes the relevant AIML Resolution

Appendix III contains the text of the Cabinet Mission Plan which envisaged a Union embracing both British India and the Indian States and comprising three Groups of Provinces with a three-tier constitutional arrangement along with the right of Provinces to opt out of their respective Groups

Appendices IV and V deal with the communal disturbances in Bihar and Bombay respectively, which erupted after the Direct Action Day observed by the AIML on 16 August 1946 The virulent and inveterate hatred and animosity between Hindus and Muslims found its most violent expression in these disturbances Especially, the riots in Bihar were widespread and witnessed horrors and orgies of communal violence on an unprecedented scale

> Brutalities unknown in human history happened such as pressing the [unborn] child out of a pregnant woman, cutting few months [old] babies in front of mothers and making them drink the blood, all-out killing of women and children, large-scale murders in mosques, etc [1]

Appendix VI contains a report suggesting migration of Muslims to contiguous Muslim minority areas in order to beef up the Muslim minorities and thereby reduce their vulnerability to Hindu aggression The areas so marked have been indicated by maps

Appendices VII, VIII and IX are based on press reports which trace the day-to-day progression of the Civil Disobedience Movements launched by the ML in the Punjab, NWFP and Assam to protest against political repression of the Muslims by the respective Provincial Governments From

Cabinet Mission's Plan."[4] And again in paragraph 10: "His Majesty's Government agreed to recommend to Parliament a constitution worked out in accordance with the proposals made therein *by a fully representative Constituent Assembly*." The significance of the words we have italicised is clearly this that the Constituent Assembly which is at present functioning is not sufficiently representative according to the express terms and provisions of the Statement of May 16 and therefore the continuation of its labours on the present basis is futile. Ever since the Congress revealed its intention of putting its own arbitrary interpretation on fundamental provisions of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, the Muslim League has been declaring that the Constituent Assembly scheme as envisaged in that Plan could not work. It has taken the British Government nearly 8 months to recognise this fact, but better late than never.

Muslims welcome the declaration that the British Government propose to transfer power to Indian hands by a specific date as well as the broad outline indicated in paragraph 10 read with paragraph 13 of the statement, of the manner in which power is to be transferred. The possibility is visualised that power may be transferred as a whole to some Central Government, or to some Provincial Governments, or "in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interest of the Indian people." At the appropriate time H.M.G. will negotiate separate agreements for the purpose "with the representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power." It would appear that H.M.G. still fight shy of saying clear things clearly. They might as well have stated categorically that agreements would be entered into with the Congress for the Hindu majority areas and with the Muslim League for the Muslim majority areas. If paragraph 13 has any meaning this is the only manner in which agreements for the transfer of power can be successfully negotiated.

It is a rebuff to the Congress that the earnest petition of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his Congress colleagues for the removal of the League Ministers from the Interim Government has not even been taken notice of, much less granted. It was a presumptuous and even foolish demand to make and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel acted with singular lack of foresight when he categorically announced a few days ago that he and his party would resign from the Government if the Muslim League stayed in. He must have read Thursday's statement with a feeling of consternation because he must now either carry out his threat of resignation or eat the humble pie. We have little doubt that this great sword-rattler will find it much more profitable to stay than quit—and by profitable we mean quite a number of things. He should at any rate know now that it does not always pay to play the political gangster.

In spite of certain actions of Lord Wavell which during the past

year often led to untoward situations and consequences, the sudden termination of his Viceroyalty will cause wide regret That he has been throughout well-intentioned cannot be doubted, and it may well be that in certain things he had to act not as a free agent but under orders from London Whatever the Muslims have suffered due to what they at times regarded as his mistakes or his weakness no bitterness towards him will linger in their minds

[1]Editorial *Dawn*, 22 February 1947
No 1, Vol I, Part I
Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[4]Appendix III

I.3

HOUR OF DECISION[1]

The awaited British announcement regarding the Indian political impasse has been made Reactions to the statement[2] are not yet available but we shall not be surprised if our friends in the Congress are already at their favourite game of explosive words and frenzied gesticulation We do not feel inclined to indulge in either The statement, as the Quaid-i-Azam says, is of great importance and should be calmly and carefully deliberated upon There are four major points to consider The first point is that "His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948" This is the most definite enunciation made so far of the British policy on India Even so, it is not definite enough and phrases like "transference of power" and "responsible Indian hands" are open to varying interpretations It is not clear, for instance, whether this transference of power will involve the complete evacuation of the British Armed Forces from India, whether the new Indian Government will have to remain within the Commonwealth or be free to make new alliances, whether the transference of power will be conditioned by treaties favourable to British Home and Foreign interests or not so conditioned, whether the responsible character of "Indian hands' is to be determined by the Indians or by the British These and similar questions will have to await further elucidation It is definite, however, that the major switch-over in political responsibility will take place in India a little over a year from now and a considerable measure of political sovereignty will devolve on the Indian people It is

interest in Muslim League circles While the official League reply to it will be given by the League Working Committee when it meets, an unofficial League view available on Saturday night considered Pandit Nehru's appeal as helpful in spirit, but vague in content. The Muslim League, according to an exponent of this view point, has always been willing to come to a peaceful settlement on the basis of real independence to each of the two major nations

"Pandit Nehru's references to the present Constituent Assembly, however, must be regarded as inconsistent with his expressed desire for Muslim co-operation The new situation created by the Statement of February 20th calls for an altogether new approach and a method different to that represented by the present Constituent Assembly That new approach must be on the basis of two sovereign states coming together for all common purposes by voluntary agreement The moment Congress accepts this principle the entire situation will change and all bitterness will disappear", said a Muslim League spokesman —API

[1]*Hindustan Times*, 23 February 1947 Also see *TP*, IX, No 452, pp 790-792

I.5

Press Information Bureau, New Delhi to Information Department, India Office, London

Telegram, IOR L/I/1/767

No B 172 NEW DELHI, *23 February 1947*

The following is a summary of opinion expressed hitherto

Mr Gandhi and Mr Jinnah have not yet commented on the statement Pandit Nehru has favourably reacted to it He is believed to carry with him the support of the Congress members of the Interim Government The League section of the Government is, however, silent

Both the Congress and League Presidents are expected to convene meetings of their respective Working Committees early in March in Delhi Almost simultaneously the States Negotiating Committee is scheduled to meet in Delhi with the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly, to consider the allocation of seats among the States, and the method of selection of States' representatives

The Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor, has emphasised that no time should now be lost in coming together and working out an acceptable solution, and that the policy of strict adherence to the

of the Constituent Assembly has come more than six weeks after they were passed It is easy to criticise a complicated set of rules or a long resolution But I am quite sure that the objections raised have no force whatever We had stated quite clearly in the resolution and subsequently that we had accepted the statement of December 6th It is easy enough to remove doubts if there is an intention to understand and to cooperate But it is not possible to do so if the intention is just to find fault and in no event to cooperate We have tried in the past to meet all legitimate objections and criticisms so as to gain the cooperation of all in the work of the Constituent Assembly We shall continue to do so because obviously it is desirable to have that cooperation

5 We sent to you our joint letter asking for the resignation of the Muslim League members in the Cabinet because it had become impossible in the interest of good government and progress to have a Central Government which was divided and in which one group functioned as an opposition both in governmental activities and in the country This was contrary to the Cabinet Delegation's scheme and it had a disruptive influence on the administration We have seen the extraordinary spectacle of members of the Central Government leading and encouraging "Direct Action" and disobedience of laws against the provincial government of the Punjab This is still continuing openly and something similar is now being attempted in the Frontier Province It is difficult for me to conceive of any Central Government whose members function in this way It is obvious that this matter requires urgent decision Mr Attlee's statement throws no light upon it

6 Nevertheless I told you in the course of our interview that I would not press for an immediate answer to our joint letter because we were anxious, in view of the new situation that had arisen, not to bar the door to joint and cooperative working Mr Attlee's statement in some ways over-rides the Cabinet Mission's plan As I understand it, it means this If the Muslim League comes into the Constituent Assembly, then the Scheme of May 16th will continue to apply If the League still refuses to come in, then other consequences follow

7 This will have to be cleared up in the near future to enable us to proceed rapidly with the work of constitution-making We shall try our utmost to gain the cooperation of the Muslim League on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's scheme of May 16th If, however, we fail, we shall have to proceed on the other lines indicated or flowing from Mr Attlee's statement Whether the Interim Government can remain as it is or has to change will also depend on the developments indicated

government or not He admitted this and said that we were right to make the challenge and that they would hope to accept it

5 Liaquat was very friendly throughout, but did not hold out much hope of the two communities ever agreeing

[1] *TP*, IX, No 448, pp 785-786

[2] In his telegram Pethick-Lawrence had advised Wavell to ask Nehru to wait until Congress and the AIML had studied HMG's forthcoming policy statement, before pressing the League to quit the Interim Government See *TP*, IX, No 350, pp 622-623 and No 397, pp 712-715

[3] The AICC, in its resolution of 6 January 1947, had declared that in framing the constitution for independent India there must not be any interference from outside nor "compulsion of any province or part of a province by another province", and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised See No XII 66

[4] No 1, Vol I, Part I

See Annex to No 124, ibid

I.7

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

L/PO/10/24[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE AND SECRET THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
26 February 1947

Thank you for your letter of the 13th February[2] Since I wrote last on the 19th,[3] His Majesty's Government's Statement has appeared and you have received information about the reactions here The first Press comments have been favourable The Congress welcome the fixing of a date and hope that the Statement means that if they do not get an agreement with the Muslim League, they can establish a strong unitary Government based not on the Cabinet Mission's Plan but on their own estimates of India's requirements This would presumably leave the Muslims only with a small Pakistan Muslim League comment has been restrained so far, and it will probably be some time before we know what attitude the League will adopt Such favourable League comment as there has been is however based on the assumption that if the League refuse to co-operate with the Congress, they will receive not the small Pakistan but the large Pakistan As you know, I think that the policy of fixing a date was inevitable and right, though I disagreed with the form and timing, but I am doubtful whether the Statement will work the miracle of an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League Still it may turn out all right I am sure they do not want open conflict But the Congress think that the Muslims will be compelled by economic considerations to

are very large non-Muslim minorities In the event of Bengal or Punjab, as Provinces, deciding by a bare majority not to adhere to a Union, the question immediately arises about Western Bengal and Eastern Punjab which are predominantly non-Muslim areas and which have no intention whatever of separating themselves from the Indian Union

8 It is in order to get over all these difficulties that we have suggested a partition of the Punjab and the same principle applies to Bengal If the Muslim League accepts the British Cabinet's scheme of May 16th and co-operates in the Constituent Assembly, then this question does not arise in this form But even so it is worth considering whether Bengal and Punjab should not both be divided into smaller Provinces In the event of the Muslim League not accepting the Cabinet Delegation's scheme and not coming into the Constituent Assembly, the division of Bengal and Punjab becomes inevitable [3]

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1] *TP*, IX, No 511, pp 897-901

[2] Refers to Parliamentary Debates, 5th series, House of Commons, vol 434, 5 March 1947, col 508

[3] The text of Nehru's letter was telegraphed by Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence on 10 March 1947

Enclosure to No I 9

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE ON 8 MARCH 1947 AT NEW DELHI[1]

I PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE'S DECLARATION OF FEBRUARY 20TH, 1947

1 The Working Committee welcome the declaration made on behalf of the British Government of their definite intention to transfer power finally by a date not later than June 1948 and to take steps to that end in advance

2 The transfer of power, in order to be smooth, should be preceded by the recognition in practice of the Interim Government as a Dominion Government with effective control over the services and administration, and the Viceroy and Governor-General functioning as the constitutional head of the Government The Central Government must necessarily function as a Cabinet with full authority and responsibility Any other arrangement is incompatible with good government and is peculiarly dangerous during a transitional period full of political and economic crises

3 The Congress has already expressed its acceptance of the British

Cabinet Mission's scheme of May 16th, 1946, and has further accepted the interpretations put upon it by the British Cabinet on December 6th, 1946 In accordance therewith, the Constituent Assembly has been functioning and has appointed various committees to carry on its work. It has become all the more essential now to expedite this work so that the constitution for an Indian Union and its constituent units should be finally prepared and given effect to well within the stated period to facilitate the final transfer of power

4 The Working Committee welcome the decision of a number of States to join the Constituent Assembly and trust that all the States and their peoples will be effectively represented in this task of making a constitution for an Indian Union The Committee invite afresh the representatives of the Muslim League, who have been elected to the Constituent Assembly, to join in this historic undertaking

5 The work of the Constituent Assembly is essentially voluntary The Working Committee have frequently stated that there can or should be no compulsion in the making of a constitution for India It is the fear of compulsion or coercion that has given rise to distrust and suspicion and conflict If this fear goes, as it must, it will be easy to determine India's future so as to safeguard the rights of all communities and give equal opportunities to all It has been made clear that the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly will apply only to those areas which accept it It must also be understood that any Province or part of a Province which accepts the constitution and desires to join the Union cannot be prevented from doing so Thus there must be no compulsion either way, and the people will themselves decide their future This peaceful and co-operative method is the only way to make democratic decisions with the maximum of consent

6 In this hour when final decisions have to be taken, and the future of India has to be shaped by Indian minds and hands, the Working Committee earnestly call upon all parties and groups, and all Indians generally, to discard violent and coercive methods, and co-operate peacefully and democratically in the making of a constitution The time for decision has come and no one can stop it or stand by and remain unaffected The end of an era is at hand and a new age will soon begin Let this dawn of the new age be ushered in bravely, leaving hates and discords in the dead past

2 INVITATION TO MUSLIM LEAGUE TO MEET REPRESENTATIVES OF CONGRESS

In view of new developments which are leading to a swift transfer

APPENDIX II

THE CRIPPS OFFER AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE RESPONSE

II.1

DRAFT DECLARATION FOR DISCUSSION WITH INDIAN LEADERS (AS PUBLISHED)[1]

Cmd 6350

30 March 1942

The conclusions of the British War Cabinet as set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps has taken with him for discussion with the Indian Leaders and the question as to whether they will be implemented will depend upon the outcome of these discussions which are now taking place

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to

(i) the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down

(ii) the signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities, but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation

(d) the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities

Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India

[1] *TP*, I, No 456, pp 565-566

We have specified the form which that body will take, unless, and this is an important point, the leaders of the principal sections of Indian opinion agree between themselves before the end of hostilities upon some other and better form

That Constitution-making body will have as its object the framing of a single Constitution for the whole of India—that is, of British-India together with such of the Indian States as may decide to join in

But we realise this very simple fact If you want to persuade a number of people who are inclined to be antagonistic to enter the same room, it is unwise to tell them that once they go in there is no way out—they are to be forever locked in together

It is much wiser to tell them they can go in and if they find they can't come to a common decision, then there is nothing to prevent those who wish, from leaving again by another door They are much more likely all to go in if they have knowledge that they can by their free will go out again if they cannot agree

Well, that is what we say to the Provinces of India Come together to frame a common Constitution—if you find after all your discussion and all the give and take of a Constitution-making assembly that you cannot overcome your differences and that some Provinces are still not satisfied with the Constitution, then such Provinces can go out and remain out if they wish and just the same degree of self-government and freedom will be available for them as for the Union itself, that is to say complete self-government

We hope and expect to see an Indian Union strong and united because it is founded upon the free consent of all its peoples; but it is not for us Britishers to dictate to you, the Indian peoples, you will work out and decide that problem for yourselves

So we provide the means and the road by which you can attain that form of the absolute and united self-government that you desire at the earliest possible moment In the past we have waited for the different Indian communities to come to a common decision as to how a new Constitution for a self-governing India should be framed and because there has been no agreement amongst the Indian leaders, the British government has been accused by some of using this fact to delay the granting of freedom to India We are now giving the lead that has been asked for and it is in the hands of Indians and Indians only whether they will accept that lead and so attain their own freedom If they fail to accept this opportunity the responsibility for that failure must rest with them

We ask you to accept this fulfilment of our pledges in the past and it is that request that I have put before your leaders in the document which you have now seen

pronouncement on the subject Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issue is to court disaster

In the Draft proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the Province is to be obtained in favour of or against accession to the one Union, but in the letter dated 2nd of April[5] from the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps, addressed to the President of the All India Muslim League, it is stated that "a Province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent, the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population" In this connection it must be emphasised that in the provinces *where the Musalmans are in a majority, as in the case of the* major provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, they are in a minority in the Legislative Assemblies, and in the Assemblies of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province the total number (namely 60 and 50 respectively) is so small and the weightage given to the non-Muslims so heavy that it can be easily manipulated and a decision under such conditions cannot be the true criterion of ascertaining the real opinion of the Musalmans of those provinces

As regards the suggested plebiscite in the provinces in which the Musalmans are in a majority, in the event of the requisite majority not being available in the Legislative Assemblies, the procedure laid down is that reference shall be made to the whole adult population of the provinces and not to the Musalmans alone, which is to deny them the inherent right to self-determination

(4) With regard to the Indian States, it is the considered opinion of the Committee that it is a matter for them to decide whether to join or not to join or form a Union

(5) With regard to the Treaties to be negotiated between the Crown and the Indian Union or Unions, the proposals do not indicate as to what would happen in case of disagreement on the terms between the contracting parties, nor is there any provision made as to what would be the procedure when there is a difference of opinion in negotiating a revision of treaty arrangements with the Indian States in the new situation

(6) With regard to the interim arrangement, there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majesty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations The Committee are, therefore, unable to express their opinion until a complete picture is available Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion on the interim arrangements for participation in the

proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom

3 We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people, and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field

4 It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission, but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India

5 This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India, since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests

6 We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas, one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan, the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged The argument for a separate

negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow

15 We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications, and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery

APPENDIX IV

REPORT ON BIHAR RIOTS[1]

(OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1946)

BY

NARANJAN SINGH GILL

F 965/69-91

MAJITHA, DISTRICT AMRITSAR, PUNJAB,
20 February 1947

CONTENTS

(Appendix [sic for Appendices] mentioned are not attached as I had only one copy of each which I have given to Gandhijee Appendix [sic for Appendices] do not affect the case but they contain extra information and can easily be obtained from Patna, if required)

PART I

TOUR OUTLINE

Programme

Date

5 2 47 Arrived morning Patna, contacted Muslim League, talk[ed] with Syed Abdul Aziz, met Mr Jamil (incharge of tour)

6 2 47 Talk[ed with] Col Mahboob, I N A , talk[ed with] Red Shirt representatives; talk[ed with] Muslim League Leaders, [namely] Mr Jaffar Imam, MLA, President, Mr Badruddin, MLA, General Secretary, Mr Mazhar Imam, MLA, Joint Secretary, Mr Sultanudin, MLA, Prof Najmul Huda and Mr Usmani, met Chief Minister

7 2 47 Met Forward Block workers, met Khaksar, Red Shirt and local Nationalist Muslims, met Baba Gurdit Singh and Sikhs; met Secretary, Unity Board, met Mr A M Sahay, I.N A

[1]Copies given to Mahatma Gandhi, the Chief Minister of Bengal, and the Chief Minister of Bihar

In many villages Muslims were forced to go (otherwise no rations) back into destroyed, roofless, materialless [sic] houses wherein are graves of all their families

This makes them wish to migrate Also, nothing is being done to obtain [sic] crops for the Muslims No Muslim can wander about in the affected areas without escort Thus, what can they go back for?

NATIONALIST MUSLIMS' POINT OF VIEW

1 The brutalities were extreme

2 The Government intentions were good but there was some hesitation in their actions during the riots, a determined lead such as that given by Pandit Nehru, would have prevented or at any rate saved huge casualties

3 The Government's policy and relief measures since the riots, are inadequate, maybe partly due to corrupt or inefficient administration

4 The Hindus, though now quietened down, are not repentant So, unless some immediate steps are taken to remedy the situation, it will result in great damage to the cause of the country and the Muslim League is out to exploit the situation fully

Dr Mahmud The brutalities, including rape, were extreme The Congress Nationalist Muslims and the Momins were all murdered just as Muslims, helping to prove the Two Nation Theory Among the causes were Hindu-Muslim feelings in the administration, exaggerated reports given about Noakhali even by the highest leaders, black marketeers, and the presence of many false [*sic*] workers in the Congress (e g where there was a good Congressman such as Pandit Grusthwari in Chhapra, all was controlled there quickly and well)

Relief is poor and slow [The victims of the] Beniabad incident of September [1946] were promised Rs 40,000, [but] still not given, cases of looting are still happening, feelings of insecurity are great, even educated Muslims wishing [*sic* for wish] to leave Only a few days ago, he received applications from 400 Muslims, some of whom he personally knows as good fellows, wishing to go to Sind

He feels that out of this evil tremendous good could have come out if we, especially the top Hindu leaders, had grasped the opportunity Pandit Nehru realized this and he started building a new India (by showing [that] Congress was above all parties and communities) but the attempt had no support In fact, the unwelcome [*sic*] given to Pandit Nehru by the Bihari Hindus made the Muslims more fearful that even one of the great Hindu heroes may not be able to protect them. No topmost Hindu leaders have toured the afflicted areas Even now, the wound can be patched up and the effort should be made by

the topmost leaders He thinks that Gandhijee's immediate visit to Bihar, even though for a few days, might again start the [movement] for a New India He thinks only Gandhijee can solve the Hindu-Muslim problem, which may become unsolvable [*sic*] after his death

He related the following three personal stories which show the depth of [his] emotions and speak for themselves

(i) An old woman in one of the villages clung to him and said *Ham ne ka kia hai, ham ko kae ko mare* (What have we done? Why do you kill us?)

(ii) A group of simple Muslims met him and said *Ham ko Pakistan men bhej do* (Send us to Pakistan)

(iii) A group of Muslim refugees protected and brought to the railway station by Hindus were getting into the train with their kits As the Hindu helpers were entering the railway compartment, a policeman stopped them and asked them why were they getting in, not being refugees The Hindus answered *Inke bux Patna kon utarega* (Who would unload their boxes at Patna?)

Maj Gen Shah Nawaz & Col Mahboob Ahmad of I N A [Indian National Army] The brutalities were extreme and Noakhali was nothing compared to Bihar No determined and co-ordinated action was being taken to cover up the wounds It has already greatly affected the Nationalist Muslims and, unless something was urgently done, the Congress may lose their sympathies Power politics was perhaps at the background Shah Nawaz says that a noticeable difference in the Hazara riots was [that there was] no raping or killing of women and children He also thinks Press is greatly misused Thinks that Gandhijee should visit Bihar Both have visions of a great, united and free India and this has come as a terrible shock and an obstacle in their way

Shah Nawaz is returning from Delhi to work in any capacity here, should Badshah Khan want him

Badshah Khan Sahib The British put obstacles in the way of effective dealing of the riots Whereas to suppress the 1942 riots they sent soldiers in batches of two and three all over the country, they refused to do so now The Prime Minister himself went to Ranchi to get military support but even then it was delayed The police joined in to create trouble to please the British officers since there is no mental change in them and they still regard British officers as masters The Governor went to Bombay to receive his wife when the riots were in full progress The brutalities were extreme There was perhaps some softness in the Government's dealing with the riots It was a mistake to hand over relief work to the Muslim League, who are using this to exploit the situation to their own end, spreading hatred and disunity

His answer to the Muslim League demands was Inquiry Commission? Yes Special Tribunals? No Pockets? As a principle, no, also not practical, but any voluntary adjustments? Yes

PART II (B)

ASSEMBLY DEBATE

Muslim League no-confidence motion debate took three days I attended it one day (Regretfully, what is said in the beautiful Assembly room and [from] its chairs is necessarily [not] what one sees in the villages and among the folks affected)

PART III (A)

VISIT TO THE AFFECTED VILLAGES
PATNA DISTRICT

Nagar Nausa This village is 29 miles from Patna and is the home of Mr Noman, Member of the Central Legislative Assembly The battle, including use of guns, raged for three days until the majority of Muslims (over 1,000) were rescued by army firing, after Panditjee arrived

About 100 Muslims were killed Muslim houses were adjacent, well-built and prosperous Now [they are] entirely destroyed [It is] amazing how huge masonry has been blown up as if by dynamite No Muslim [lives] here except one living with the military He said his crops have been stolen only a week ago, so how can he live and what for We escorted two Muslims who found some of their jewellery hidden in the wall Frames [of houses and other] materials etc are being looted even now [There is] complete destruction (burning) of the Muslim houses Mosques also broken [*sic*]

3 days' fighting but no police arrived [Only] one army platoon is posted here

Local cause The Hindus say that the Muslims insisted on sacrificing cow in those strained days The Muslims say they were attacked after peace committees were formed

Tillhara It is 45 miles from Patna and two miles from Ekanagar Police Station Complete Muslim part of the village was destroyed and population murdered Muslim part of the village here also one side [*sic*] The mosque broken [into] and many murdered inside Blood, hair, and bones inside the mosque Each house has a well, all of them were filled up, it is said, with bodies and debris In some skeletons [were] visible Heavy blood marks in all houses The butchery obviously horrible and evidence still there—three wooden planks top—bloodsmeared presumably persons were cut on these

Chhapra area is well spoken of by all Both the officials and the local Congressmen acted well and promptly)

Gaya District The Beniabad incident in September, 1946, when 14 Muslims including 7 Congress[ite] Muslims were killed, had caused some excitement However, before Noakhali, things were peaceful Riots started 25th, controlled 7th November Murder, loot, arson took place including women and children [*sic*]. Police action was halting [*sic*] Eventually military brought control after Pandit Jawaharlal's visit About 1,500 casualties including women and children The Muslims feel insecure and strained feelings not ended yet Muslims wish to live separately Only a few Muslims living in the area Three villages visited, all destroyed.

One Hindu, Rambaran Singh, saved 74 Muslims He is now afraid of the Hindus and is living away from his village

A large number of women and children were killed Food 4 *chhataks* rice and 1 *chhatak chana* is not adequate, clothing not issued, living in old, torn garments The Muslim League camp equally bad

Muslims want to live together in some numbers with arms since they are afraid The guilty have not been punished and neither the Government nor the police have listened to complaints or given them relief, so how can they trust them?

PART III (B)

REFUGEE & RELIEF CAMPS

Patna

Digha Camp		1,740 refugees
	Food	Rice 6 *chhataks*, vegetable 3 *chhataks*, *dal* 3 *chhataks* Adequate but nothing special for children
	Clothing	1 blanket often to a whole family 1 blanket for 6 men
	Sanitation	Up to refugee standard
	Medicines	Poor
	Water	O K
	Accommodation	*pukka* building
City Camp		2,100 refugees
	Food	As for the Digha Camp above
	Clothing	1 blanket per person to some, none to others Some issued a *sari* or a shirt each, others none, even though [they are] there for 3 months

Medicines	Sufficient
Water	O K
Sanitation	O K
Accommodation	O K *pukka* building

City Anjuman-i-Islamia Camp	
Food	Ditto
Clothing	1 blanket per person but not to all, no issue of clothing
Monghyr District	
Kharagpur [Camp]	2,000 refugees One refugee recently taken for work and killed He was a tailor named Kalu Khan of Pajiti village but killed in the neighbouring village of Matmata
Rations	5 *chhataks* of rice, 3 *chhataks* of vegetable etc
Clothing	Poorly dressed, no special issues
Accommodation	Tents

Tarapur [Camp]	1,800 refugees Saw terrible wounds on women and children They said I was the first non-Muslim leader to visit them and now they badly needed sympathy
Rations	4 *chhataks* of rice, 2 *chhataks* of *dal*, 1 *chhatak* of vegetable (all inadequate)
Clothing	1½ yds per head
Blanket	1 per 4 persons
Water	Poor arrangements
Sanitation	Poor
Medicines	Insufficient
Lighting	Bad
Accommodation	Overcrowded tents

Note In none of the camps had any effort been made to cheer up the camp [inmates or] provide games for children or some education Generally the camps presented a dismal appearance

taught only to please their masters, rather than act impartially and effectively on their own initiative as should be the case in free countries

(d) The wrong appreciation and advice by important British officials, the I G [of Police] and the Chief Secretary, who, as late as the 31st [of October], argued with the Premier that the situation was not serious and so, together with the Military Commander, delayed military aid It is illuminating to know here that whereas in 1942 the military was spread all over the province in twos or threes, the Military Commander refused to adopt that method now though that was the very thing asked by the Chief Minister It is also surprising that the Governor should go to receive his wife in Bombay on the 31st when riots were mounting up

Nonetheless it would be correct to say that the Government acted with average efficiency and with the best of intentions When it is remembered that in 1942 all the might of the British army could not obtain control for a long time, then we could look at the Government actions, in the right perspective realising the suddenness and extensiveness of the riots, and their being brought under control within two weeks Firing by the police had taken place before Pandit Nehru's arrival But his visit accomplished the following two purposes

(a) It brought military into action

(b) It added determination to the Government actions

Both of them could and perhaps should have been accomplished by the Government themselves and this may have brought the riots under control much earlier

(Muslims in general are of the opinion that Pandit Nehru's arrival and action saved many thousands of Muslim lives and they are grateful to him)

POST-RIOT POSITION

(9 NOVEMBER–17 FEBRUARY)

Relief It is a sad fact that relief arrangements are poor Whatever may be the paper schemes or orders issued, the effect on the actual sufferers is totally inadequate The rations are adequate but not at all the places Children are given no special facilities Clothing is the worst point No rebuilding of the houses has started [yet] Camps show a dismal sight, no effort of recreation [*sic*] etc is visible Dr Mahmud told me that the Beniabad sufferers of September 1942, who had been promised Rs 40,000 [as] compensation, had still not received it This has a very

demoralising effect and helps the Muslim League object much more than their own propaganda

The loot of material (doors, frames, boxes, etc) and of crops is still going on Some Muslims individually have been found missing or hurt recently also

The Government in general allowed the Muslim League to run the relief [work] This was a mistake as (a) the Government must never shirk its rightful duty and (b) the League (primarily there from outside Bihar) has exploited the position for its ends, spreading disunity and hatred Their leaders come and make speeches, [indulge in] politics, [and arrange] relief Systematically they advocated migration which is most harmful to the Muslims themselves Finding it impractical, they (Bihar Muslim League) now advocate strong armed pockets and are carrying out all propaganda to this effect, with one-sided stories Other possible reasons for inefficient relief may be

(a) power politics (matching Bengal),
(b) corrupt administrative machinery, and
(c) poor Congress workers

But the fact is that it is the lack of good relief arrangements more than the League propaganda that is making the Muslims feel insecure, making them wish to form pockets or even leave the province

The Government's answer to the Muslim League demands has already been given, viz

(a) *Inquiry Commission* Yes (it has created good effect even in the Muslim quarters)
(b) *Pockets* No, except in special cases Regarding pockets, it is true that even now there are limited Hindu and Muslim areas in towns and villages But it must be realized that in Bihar most damage has been done where there were so-called pockets and Muslims have collected together An argument not easy to refute in favour of pockets is how can those who were dishonoured go back and live in houses which are cemeteries of their own kith and kin The pocket principle, however, is against the real interests of both Muslims and Hindus, but where the people concerned really voluntarily went to live together, let them do so The choice should be of the people, not of political parties
(c) *Special Tribunals* No The above is O K but the fact is to take relief, consolation, and friendship to the sufferers and none of the above do that

The problem is, therefore, *most urgent* and the effect of the policy

must reach the masses earliest possible The Muslim League is justified in claiming that relief has been inadequate

SOME IMPORTANT COMMENTS

The Congress or Nationalist Muslims have been deeply agitated and find themselves in a most difficult position I fear that unless the problem is courageously tackled from the highest to the lowest level, it may be driving them into the League's arms It is really said that Nationalist Muslims and Momins (Mr A Q Ansari, a Momin) were killed just like others simply because they were Muslims, even though they stood with the Congress

Hindus are quiet, but it cannot be said that they are repentant, and incidents elsewhere may still create effects here This is a *serious* aspect So, the Muslim feeling of insecurity has a good foundation

SUMMARY

The British game has been successful Indians stand ashamed before the eyes of the world and that too when the masses of India, be they Hindus or Muslims, in reality care not for Pakistan or Hindustan except superficially or artificially What they want is good clothing, simple decent living for them and their families This really can only be had if India arises [*sic* for rises] as one strong country for both its own and the world's benefit But at the moment both the British and the Muslim League perhaps are sitting back satisfied that their case of the Two Nation Theory is proved and Mr Nishtar is going about making violent speeches that a handful of Muslims will conquer and rule over crores of Hindus And I know the general feeling among the Hindus, and to some extent share them too, that brute like actions can only be met by force, that when animal nature in human beings predominates, they understand not the feelings of love but learn a quick lesson from punishment But young India must rise above this, look upward and ahead, fight these obstacles and even that without falling into the trap of violence and retaliation I can see no other way of accomplishing this except that the Hindus (perhaps right[ly] too being majority) once more will have to bear the brunt of hard work and sacrifice for the sake of India, for the sake of both Hindus and Muslims alike and itself be, all the purer and better after the ordeal I feel also that this great [tragedy] will bring forward [*sic*] the best or the reality of Islam, thus paving the way for both to live as brothers and equals, each developing [to its] best and helping mankind and civilization in its onward march

There are some silver linings too Many Muslims were saved by Hindus just as a number of Hindus were saved by their Muslim

APPENDIX V

REPORT ON BOMBAY RIOTS 1946-1947
BY
HAJI HASANALLY P EBRAHIM

F 117/1-49

CONFIDENTIAL *27 February 1947*

It is a most mortifying reflection and saddest thought that Bombay, where both Hindus and Muslims had endeavoured to maintain and promote communal harmony and goodwill for years past, not without success to some extent, should have become now a wretched Province full of perils for Muslims In villages and towns, the Muslims have been victims of unspeakable outrages and atrocious acts of cruelty and barbarity which would stagger even the worst and violent savages, who might consider themselves civilized compared with the Hindus of this Province Several factors have prompted them to be the most aggressive, namely the contempt of law and order which had been manifest in the past years, the belief of the Hindu masses belonging to the Congress that they are the makers and unmakers of the Government and can easily silence and overawe the Government and fill them with fear and confusion, and, last but not least, the strong hope on the part of the Hindus that no Hindu offender will be arrested or prosecuted, much less convicted, and if anyone is convicted or sentenced to death, transportation or imprisonment, he will be released subsequently by the order of the Government Some of them may be held to be heroes and garlanded either during their trial or after their conviction or condonement [sic] of guilt Their belief and hope are based on many things and confirmed by the release of the persons convicted over the happenings of August 1942 It is, of course, wrong to blame all Hindus There may be some gentle and sympathetic [souls] among them but they do not count and can make no difference to the terrible situation that exists It appears that the Government have two-fold grounds for leaving the Muslims in a perpetual state of suffering and fear First, because the Muslims are opposed to the political creed and activities of the Congress and criticise them and, secondly, no action likely to annoy their voters and supporters could be taken if it would endanger the position of the Ministers In these circumstances, the Muslim minority, with its political and religious ideology, can have neither independence nor safety of life and property The censorship of the press and Section 144, prohibiting public meetings, provocative utterances, etc , exist only for the Muslim press and the Muslim community while organizations

He was taken to Kalachowkie Police Station and then taken to the K E M Hospital but no action was taken by the police and nobody was rounded up Fifthly, one Pathan was murdered within the jurisdiction of Bhoiwada Police Station before the 1st September 1946 No action was taken in that behalf Thus it will be seen that Hindus were bent upon starting the riots right from the 16 August 1946, probably with a view to impressing upon the Muslims that the Congress Government was in power and they could break the law with impunity and create terror among the Muslims On the other hand, the Muslims refused to be drawn into any breach of peace and tranquillity and wanted to remain peaceful to carry on their peaceful struggle when the Muslim League ultimately decided to launch Direct Action Police, however, manifested complete absence of any sense of responsibility and encouraged the Hindus by not taking any preventive steps

3 Authentic and verified facts secured from most reliable sources show that the riots broke out in the following manner

Muslims were putting up black flags at about 10 p m on the 1st September 1946 near Round Temple at Null Bazar Although there were no instructions from the Congress to the Hindus to hoist Congress flags, some Hindus on seeing black flags hoisted by Muslims, started hoisting Congress flags as a counterblast Muslims were quiet and peaceful and busy in hoisting their flags While the Hindus were tying the Congress flag by a string across the street at Round Temple, the string gave way and the flag fell down on the ground Some Muslim boys, who witnessed it, laughed Their laughter irritated the Hindus who started stoning the Muslims and throwing soda water bottles at them The presence of soda water bottles clearly suggests that the Hindus were fully prepared to attack and were only waiting for an excuse to start the disturbance Not content with the attack by stones and soda water bottles, the Hindus stabbed two occupants (Muslims) of a victoria coming from the Golpitha to Round Temple The attack by stones and soda water bottles followed by a stabbing incident and the sight of blood-stained clothes of two Muslims, naturally created tension among the Muslims But it is absolutely clear that the Hindus deliberately started the disturbances and continuously provoked the Muslims into them

4 Immediately after the trouble started at Golpitha, reports were received of stabbings at Kamatipura and other localities The Commissioner of Police promulgated the *curfew order*[2] from 7 p m that evening to 6 30 a m The curfew was rigorously imposed and several arrests were effected for the breach of the curfew order in the Muslim localities, although the order came as a surprise to several Muslims But the imposition of curfew was effective in bringing down the number of casualties during the

the Commissioner of Police as well as of the Home Department was drawn in writing several times, no action was taken by the police, and it is surprising that the famous and efficient Bombay City Police was not able to rope in even a single culprit out of so many. This as well as several other objectionable matters from the Hindu press were also brought to the notice of the Secretary, Home Department, and a copy [*sic*] to the notice of the Secretary, Press Advisory Committee, on 23rd and 24th October 1946 The objectionable matters are given as Appendix A [in the enclosure] to this report To these letters the Secretary, Home Department, replied by his letter No 0/3262-Poll dated 12 11 1946 that "none of the reports relating to riots appearing in certain local newspapers mentioned by you are objectionable under the Indian Press (Emergency) Act, 1931 "

13 It is reported that on 4 9 1946, the Home Minister went round the affected areas and while he was hearing the complaints of Muslims at Kalachowkie, a Muslim was stabbed nearby and the Muslims pointed out to him that a Muslim was stabbed near the police picket and the police did not arrest the assailant He replied, *"Did I kill him?"* While he was still there, stones were thrown at the Muslims which were pointed out to him, to which he replied, *"Stones do not kill men "*

14 It is reported that one Dawood Kachra sent a petition to the Home Minister against Mr Jooma Ladha, who is a proprietor of two hotels, on account of enmity The Home Minister, without inquiring into the antecedents of the petitioner, personally ordered the Police Inspector for his arrest under the new police powers 27(2) C Deputations of respectable Muslims waited on the Commissioner of Police and the Home Minister at Poona The man was not released for a long time till 4 11 1946 Mr Jooma Ladha has letters of thanks from Hindus whom he had saved during the previous riots and he was seeing that no mischief was done in his *mohalla* but it is alleged that, due to personal enmity, the petition was made

[Para 15 has been crossed out in the original]

16 The Prime Minister issued a statement, which appeared in the *Times of India* of 8 10 1946, sympathising with the murder of two Hindu members of the Peace Committee, giving their names and saying that *mere words of sympathy were not enough* This incident happened after a crowd of Hindus attacked four Pathan *chowkidar*s of the Bombay Municipality, who were kept there as watchmen to guard a water pipeline The Hindu crowds burnt their huts and, had not one of the Pathans fled and brought police help, they would all have been murdered in cold blood The *Prime Minister had not a single word of sympathy for the Pathan*s or of rebuke for the Hindus He had also no word of sympathy for a young innocent Muslim boy who was murdered by a Hindu funeral crowd who

was returning after the cremation of bodies of two Hindus He had also no word of sympathy for the murder of two Muslim members of the mixed Hindu-Muslim Peace Committee, who were taken by other Hindu members in a lane to have *pan* in celebration of the formation of the Peace Committee This was reported in the *Times of India* of 21 9 1946. Similarly, he had no word of sympathy for one *Kasam Kala* who was president of the Ghanchi *Jama'at* and who was murdered by Hindus at Parel while he was going to his house nearby after presiding at a mixed Hindu-Muslim Peace Committee meeting For the Prime Minister's sympathetic statement mentioning the names of Messrs *Patenkar* and *Bhide*, a complaint was filed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate against the Prime Minister and the editor of the *Times of India* and it is surprising that the Magistrate did not issue notice against the Prime Minister, but for the publication of the statement of the Prime Minister, notice was issued against the editor and the publisher of the *Times of India*, but ultimately they were not charged

17 Refuting the allegations of Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister issued a statement which appeared in the *Times of India* of 13 9 1946, and in which he stated, "With regard to the suggestions that oppressive measures have been taken against the Muslims, Government are satisfied that arrests were made entirely with due regard to the needs of preserving the peace and protecting the public In actual fact, the number of Hindus arrested exceeds *the number of Muslims [arrested], although the former community has suffered no less severely during the disturbances than the latter*"

18 The Home Minister instructed police officers to get Muslim workers from different Muslim Relief Committees to attend a meeting at the Bombay Secretariat on 6 10 1946 *to form a Hindu-Muslim Mixed Peace Committee* Most of the workers told the police officers to get in touch with me About 10 Muslims attended whereas about 200 Hindus attended Muslims enquired of the Home Minister as to why the League leaders were not invited whereupon he told them that Mr Chundrigar, although he was persuaded several times, did not agree to issue joint appeal with Congress He was asked why Mr Chundrigar did not agree He said he did not know The Muslims informed him that Mr Chundrigar could not agree to issue joint appeal when

(i) Muslims and their holy places were not given protection,
(ii) police (Hindu police especially) were not doing justice to Muslims and they were partial and in favour of Hindus,
(iii) the Bombay Congress Government were not agreeing to appoint an impartial commission just as was done by the Bengal Muslim League Ministry, and
(iv) the Prime Minister had accused the League that it was carrying

on riots for its political ends, in his statement which appeared in the *Times of India*

19 On 9 11 1946, the Hon'ble Mr B G Kher had invited *all Muslim MLAs* to work for peace and if we agreed he would call a joint meeting of Hindu and Muslim MLAs and devise ways and means to restore peace in the city To a question from me as to what would happen to the Central Peace Committee, Mr Kher replied that that Committee would continue to work and was not to be disturbed and, if necessary, he would call that Committee also as well as the Municipal Corporators [*sic*] who are also representatives of the people After some discussion it was decided to meet on the next day

20 On 10 11 1946, *Joint Hindu-Muslim MLAs'* meeting was called by the Hon'ble Mr Kher He explained the object of the meeting and asked for co-operation from all parties in bringing about peace in the city I assured him of co-operation from our side I further said that although we had our grievances, we were prepared in the interest of peace to wait until peace was restored and then we would demand an independent and impartial inquiry from the Government to give us justice

21 On 14 11 1946, a *joint meeting of MLAs and Municipal Corporators* [*sic*] called by the Hon'ble Mr Kher was held for devising means for restoring peace Mr Kher explained at length the object of the meeting and the following resolution was passed unanimously

> "This joint meeting of all the elected Members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Bombay Legislative Council, representing the people of the city of Bombay, and of the Members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, earnestly appeals to all the citizens of Bombay to restore peace and normal conditions of life in the city without further loss of time It is our firm conviction that the political objections [*sic* for objectives] of any party cannot be achieved by riots, communal strife and retaliation but, on the contrary, definitely receive a complete set-back "

While supporting the above resolution, I assured [them of] our full co-operation for bringing about peace and declared that we were of the firm opinion that no political achievement could be made by communal riots and it should not be understood that the riots were the result of "Direct Action", announced by the Muslim League I also pointed out that although we had our grievances, yet we had not made it a condition that inquiry should be promised to us before we agreed to co-operate for peace efforts because we wanted that peace should be established first and then we would demand from the Government [an] inquiry and justice to us

22 Two pilgrims were arrested on the morning of 19 9 1946 with

sacrificed in the north of Bombay In spite of this, the Hindus were most unreasonable and they were objecting to the cows being sacrificed at the places where they used to be sacrificed for a number of years in the past At Mahim, Mr Bhaiji, Inspector of Police, visited the place where the cow was to be sacrificed and gave favourable opinion Muslim public were of opinion that if they were to give way in their just claim of sacrifice of cow there where it used to be sacrificed for years past, the next thing would be that the Hindus would take objection to their crying of [sic] *azan* and to their offering of prayers even in their own homes Mr S K Patil and others Congress leaders who were taken to the spot stated that the objection of Hindus was baseless and the spot was best out of all the spots in Bombay However it was decided ultimately that the cow should be brought in a closed wagon at night during curfew hours, the place should be screened off, and the cow should be sacrificed there and the corpse removed to *durgah* in a closed wagon where it should be cleaned and cut, which would take longer time The sacrifice ceremony would take only a few minutes

At Kamatipura, a cow used to be sacrificed before the *masjid* but this year the Hindus objected in spite of the Muslims agreeing to screen off the place specially that year Discussion about this was going on in the Central Peace Committee when a phone message was received urgently on account of a dispute over sacrificing of a cow at Kamatipura I agreed to persuade Muslims according to suggestions of Mr Silam to sacrifice the cow in the compound of the building opposite the *masjid* and to screen off the place We all went to Kamatipura and were luckily able to persuade the Muslims to agree to the suggestion of Mr Silam but, in spite of this, the Hindus were not satisfied and were insisting that the cow should be sacrificed in the *chowk* of a house at some distance from the *masjid* However, after much persuasion, the cow was sacrificed before the *masjid* and the Hindus abused Messrs Jasdanwalla, Patil, Silam and others The attitude of Hindus both at Mahim and at Kamatipura was most unreasonable and the Muslims were afraid that if they gave up their right to sacrifice the cow at the particular places, the Hindus might object in future to cow sacrifice altogether However, we pacified the Muslims on this head Nothing untoward occurred at Mahim as was threatened, but at Kamatipura the Hindus harassed Muslims for some days by stone, bottle, and acid throwing and stabbings

34 In view of the prevailing disturbances in Bombay, especially in the north of Bombay, Muslims were in a fix about holding the annual *Majalis* in *Moharram* They were also afraid that if they were to forgo their right of holding these *Majalis* at the usual places this year, they may be disallowed in future also To safeguard the just claims of

Muslims in this behalf, it was arranged with the Commissioner of Police to clarify the position By his letter dated 21 11 1946, he replied to my letter of 20 11 1946 that "applicants who have voluntarily waived their claims on this occasion will not be penalised in the future" On the strength of this surety from the Commissioner of Police we persuaded the Muslims not to hold *Majalis* in open places in the north of the city where Hindus predominate, during *Moharram* in these abnormal times, and I here record my appreciation of the conduct of our Muslim brothers who readily agreed to our advice In many instances during the riots Muslims have proved by their actions their respect for discipline and solidarity

35 The Provincial Rationing Authority, all of a sudden, stopped issuing *petrol coupons* on 8 10 1946 and asked our representative to get a certificate from the Commissioner of Police, without realising how we would run our transport which was our lifeline in these disturbed times We managed to get a certificate from the Commissioner of Police by 11 10 1946, but again the coupons were not issued on 12 10 1946 (Saturday), and inquiries were instituted as to why we wanted so much petrol The day being Saturday, the office was closed before I could contact it as I had been to the north of Bombay with Mr Zahidali Shaukatali So we had to go without petrol coupons for Saturday and Sunday I saw Mr Rebello, as Mr Witfield was out of Bombay, and protested to him for not asking us to produce next time [*sic*] the certificate of the Commissioner of Police On the last occasion when we were given coupons [belatedly] which would have given us sufficient time to obtain certificate and would not have put ourselves to trouble and would not have endangered the lives of Muslims who were [living] in small pockets in the north of Bombay near *durgahs* and *masjids* and other places surrounded by thousands of Hindus, whose lifeline was motor transport I also pointed out that if they wanted to make enquiries, they should have, at least, if not earlier, started the same simultaneously when they asked for the certificate from the Commissioner of Police so that further precious time would not have been lost I also explained that there was no comparison of requirements of petrol by Muslims and Hindus as Hindus had many free accesses and the only transport they needed was from Mandvi to Javeri Bazar to cross the Mohamedali Road whereas, as already explained, Muslims required transport between north and south for going to K E M Hospital and from one place to another in the north and also to go to their work to Mills etc Mr Rebello asked me to write this When I insisted that I should have some coupons, he gave me coupons for 200 gallons Accordingly I wrote the letter on 14 10 1946 and particularly pointed out that in future if they wanted to make any enquiries or any changes, they should let us know in good time Further coupons for 200 gallons were given on 19 10 1946 on

40 On 23.1.1947 the Congress *celebrated Subhas Bose Day* Hindus stoned Muslims, looted and set on fire shops belonging to Muslims in Hindu localities, abused the Muslim League, its leaders and Pakistan In Koliwada, Mandvi, Hindus hanged an effigy made of gunny bags, at which Muslims were much excited and a police officer asked Hindus to remove it and it was removed Lorries and cars were being driven very fast by Hindus, from Mandvi to Javeri Bazar, unchecked by police, in spite of their attention being drawn by me after an accident in which a car BMX 8355 had knocked down a Muslim

41 Although, owing to disturbances in Bombay, meetings were banned by the order of the Commissioner of Police, yet there was an "impressive flag salutation ceremony in the morning on the Gowalia Tank Maidan in which 200 I N A men and several uniformed students participated," as reported in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 29 1 1947, while there was another flag salutation ceremony in the Congress House compound under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee Mr Ratilal Gandhi, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, spoke on this occasion Not only this, [but] in the evening there was a "mammoth meeting" at Chowpatty Stands which was addressed by the nephew of Subhas Bose, Mr Arbind Bose It is interesting to note that several instances were the features of this auspicious day which have been "deplored" by the *Times of India* in its editorial dated 25 1 1947 which is reproduced hereunder

DEPLORABLE

"The deplorable disturbances which marked the celebration of "Subhas Bose Day" in various parts of India deserve the earnest consideration of Indian public as a whole, and of those responsible for the trouble in particular In every province a popularly elected ministry is now in charge of the duties of government These ministries are trying to perform one of their cardinal tasks—the maintenance of law and order—in circumstances of extreme difficulty Owing to internal political differences the ministries have been compelled to impose restrictions of various kinds, such as the curfew and bans on processions, in order to prevent communal warfare One would expect all patriotic Indians to regard it as their duty to help these Indian ministries to cope with a situation which is a menace to every citizen and to the country as a whole Yet what do we find? Members of certain political bodies in some of India's largest cities organise demonstrations and processions in defiance of police regulations, with the result that we have the same dismal tale of shootings and

and irresponsible attitude of the Commissioner of Police left the Muslims helpless and several Muslims in the north had to be victims of Hindu *goondas* as they could not be rescued in time On 4 9 1946, in the presence of H E the Governor and the Home Minister, when Mr I I Chundrigar and myself were invited for interview by H E, the Commissioner of Police refused to give police escort for rescue work whereas on that very day press correspondents were given police escort for touring affected areas for getting news When this point was communicated to the Commissioner of Police by me by letter dated 5 9 1946, he replied that the escort was provided to enable the press correspondents to see for themselves the situation in the city This shows that the lives of Muslims were considered less valuable than news

45 There have been many reported instances where *police*, instead of helping and assisting the Muslims trapped in various pockets and surrounded by hordes of Hindus, have actually connived at the acts of Hindu *goondas* and how [*sic*] helped the culprits to escape As against this, if a Muslim police officer discharges his duties effectively and courageously by dispersing mobs, recovering looted properties and making some arrests, he is dubbed a terror by his wrathful superior officer, reminding the Muslim officer that the National Government was in power and suggesting indirectly at the same time that the miscreants should be approached only with folded hands and their offences should be connived at The reason for their action is obvious It is asked that [whether the] Government had clearly indicated their policy that no force should be used against a show or actual [use of] force by a mob, or that [whether] the officials understand this to be the policy, reframed at tremendous cost of innocent Muslims, from resisting [*sic*] to firing, which was the only means of protecting them Above all, the police officers appeared to be terribly afraid of Congressmen who haunt the police stations and officers day and night because of the power and influence they possess This state of affairs is obvious from the fact that the authority of Government is derived from the people, in other words Hindus They are the masters, and the servants whether they be Government officials or police, dare not obstruct the masters, who may have decided upon a certain course of action and desired to annihilate the Muslims Under this state of affairs *the Muslims certainly cannot depend for their safety on the police force* We have had the bitterest experience If today the police are, with a few exceptions, demoralised, weak and ineffective, who knows they will [*sic*] be indifferent in future? And if today police have failed to use force in time against aggression and have not enforced law for fear of the Congress Government, it is a moot question whether they will act differently in future

69 In the north of Bombay where Muslims are surrounded by thousands of Hindus and are in a precarious condition [sic] When they are stoned, *Hindu officers arrest the Muslims only* and find in many places no suspicious Hindus to arrest The tenants of Kaiser Bagh at Naigaum made a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police on 25 9 1946 that though Hindus were daily stoning the Muslims and butchering them, the police was using its power to arrest Muslims and to give them threats and not to the Hindus, as if the law, rules and regulations were only meant for the punishment of Muslims and not the Hindus Similarly, the tenants of the Mogul Building in Dadar also made a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police on 29 9 1946 to the effect that the tenants of Mucadam Building indulged in stone-throwing and the police with whom complaints were lodged, instead of searching and arresting the *goondas* of the Mucadam Building, searched the Muslim tenants of the Mogul Building and threatened them It will be seen that in buildings like Mogul, Rehmat and Kassam Mitha, in the north of Bombay, where a small number of Muslims reside surrounded by thousands of Hindus, no Hindus were arrested On the contrary, Muslims were arrested when stoned and Muslims were accused of starting mischief by Hindu Police Officers in the north, whereas, for a similar instance in the south of Bombay, a large number of Muslims were arrested In one instance *125 Muslims were arrested*

70 Although *Hindus [throw] stones from their buildings* and it is pointed to the police, who even see the stone-throwing themselves, yet they (police) hesitate to search the Hindus' buildings

71 Hindus in the north of Bombay harass Muslims by [throwing] stones, bottles, acid, and by stabbing If arrests of Hindus were made by the police at the rate done [in the case] of Muslims in the south of Bombay, then *Hindus would have been arrested many times* more the number of their arrests

72 Two cases of stabbing of Muslims near Takia Masjid in the north of Bombay (Parel) took place at one spot on 4 10 1946 and in one case the assailant ran into Krishna Nagar Building and threw stones at Police Constable No 4300 who was chasing him Still the *Gurkha watchmen* of the building were not arrested although they helped the assailant to escape When I protested the arrests were ordered

73 Stabbing of Muslims used to take place near the Shirin Talkies in the presence of military and seven Muslim volunteers were arrested because they had *red bands* on their arms Putting of red bands is no offence and still, in spite of repeated requests to police, they did not release the Muslim volunteers

74 It is not known whether it was coincidence or deliberate planning that *hardly any European or Muslim police officer was at Bhoiwada Police Station* and the Hindu officers did much *zulm* and injustice to Muslims and [showed] partiality to the Hindus Hindu police officers and Congress workers think that their *raj* was there, and the morale of European officers is also much affected owing to the fate of ex-Commissioner of Police, Bombay, Mr H E Butler, and lately that of Mr J C Wilson, who retired prematurely on 1 2 1947

75 Riots started from 1 9 1946 but the police began rounding up *bad characters* on police registers from 15 10 1946 It may well be asked as to why they were not rounded up in the beginning I wrote to the Commissioner of Police on 15 10 1946 to this effect without getting any reply It is understood that the police has not rounded up the real *goondas* and they have shown partiality in favour of Hindus inasmuch as Hindus of bad and doubtful character, including such Hindus who had previous convictions and were deported from Bombay, were not only not arrested but were made *Honorary Presidency Magistrates*

76 While *Ganpatis* were taken in lorries, *Sikhs* accompanied these with *unsheathed swords* and both Hindus and Sikhs were abusing the Muslim League, its leaders and "Pakistan", and though the Commissioner of Police was informed by me in writing on 10 10 1946, no action was taken

77 *Gora Gandhi's son* was arrested by the police and, in protest thereof [sic], Hindus closed their shops and bazaars The police had, therefore, to release him The Hindus took him in procession on 14 10 1946 through localities near Golpitha The processionists numbering thousands of Hindus went on abusing the Muslim League, its leaders and Pakistan, and the police took no action for the abuses and for the breach of Section 144 This was brought to the notice of the Commissioner of Police by me through my letter of 15 10 1946, without any result

78 Four Pathans were stabbed near *Sonapur*, who had gone to buy their rations They had asked for police protection which was not given Three of them died and very few arrests were made *A statement from police, showing for each stabbing or assault case what number of arrests were made and how many were bailed out by the police or by the magistrate and how many were actually tried and punishments awarded, if not acquired [sic for acquitted],would reveal the real state of affairs*

79 *A stabbing case occurred at Koliwada* and there was a commotion A merchant was loading his goods in a motor lorry at the time but on account of the disturbance the driver drove away the lorry and the merchant locked his godown and began running as his godown was in a Hindu locality He was arrested by a Hindu Sub-Inspector, Mr Swarp

The merchant was pleading before the officer to let him go He also said that in a hurry he had locked two of his assistants in the godown and he was afraid that Hindus might set fire to his godown and his two assistants might be burnt alive and he should at least be allowed to set them free The officer would not listen to him and also to me as I happened to be there The officer said that he had received a complaint from Hindus that the merchant was a mischief-maker, and that he was sending him to the police station for enquiries He was told to get the complainants also since, without them, how were the enquiries to be made? He replied that he could get the complainants any time as he knew them Fortunately for the merchant a police patrol lorry in charge of an Anglo-Indian officer, Mr Daniel, arrived and the officer took the merchant in his lorry, verified that the merchant's case was bona fide, and on opening the door of the godown found his two assistants locked in He rescued them and released the merchant, much to the disappointment of the Hindu Sub-Inspector This matter was reported to the Commissioner of Police through my letter of 6 9 1946, without any result

80 *Pork was thrown on masajid at Islampura, Bhandari Street near Round Temple and Kamatipura 4th Lane on* Bakr 'Id *day*, i e 5 11 1946 No arrests were made and no action was taken by the police although a couple of days back, on 3 11 1946, for the first time during the riot, a Hindu was stabbed in the next lane of Islampura, which is surrounded by Hindu localities The police on suspicion rounded up about 20 Muslims in the presence of Mr Zahidali and myself from Islampura, by cordoning off the entire *mohalla* and searching each and every room of all buildings inhabited by Muslims When I protested in the Central Peace Committee against this inaction of police in respect of this serious act of polluting *masajid* with pork, I was told that the Commissioner of Police was making serious enquiries and therefore he did not make a general round-up Although the argument was not at all convincing, we waited to see the result So far no progress seems to have been made and no arrests were made The Muslims are very much excited on account of this sort of coldly treating this matter of religious importance With the greatest difficulty and with the help of the appeal of Quaid-i-Azam in which he had advised Muslims not to retaliate, we could control the religious wrath and excitement of the Muslims in this instance as well as that of callous indifference of Home Minister in connection with the burning, looting and damaging of a *masjid* near Mahomedi Market and several *durgahs* referred to elsewhere, otherwise the position would have been very serious It is a matter of surprise that the Hindu Congress Government does not realise the gravity of religious upheaval, from whatever community it

Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus but between Hindus and Hindus which amounted to [*sic*] that Muslims had to pay for loss incurred on account of fight by two different parties wherein they had no hand

97 To facilitate speedy disposal of cases arising out of the disturbed conditions prevailing in certain parts of Bombay Province, the Governor of Bombay issued on 5 1 1947 an *Ordinance* providing for the enhancement of penalties for attempted murder and stabbing when disturbed conditions prevail By this Ordinance, an attempt to murder was punishable with death in lieu of any punishment provided under the Indian Penal Code, and voluntarily causing hurt by stabbing was also punishable with death or transportation for life The Ordinance provides for a summary procedure and thereby deprives the citizens of valuable rights including that of trial by jury

98 From our experience and the behaviour of Hindu police officers in arresting innocent Muslims and in allowing most Hindu culprits to escape, the Muslim public is apprehensive that the Muslims of Bombay will be wrongly accused and Hindus will be let off by Hindu members of the police force

In spite of bringing our several grievances to the notice of the Members of the Central Peace Committee, the Hon'ble Mr Morarji Desai and the Hon'ble Mr Kher, no efforts were made by the Government to redress them Consequently I had no other alternative but to bring these matters and discuss them on the floor of the Assembly which was to meet on 10 2 1947 But before that, I wrote the following letter to the Hon'ble Mr Kher, dated 8 2 1947, and sent copies to Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa and Mr Jasdanwalla

> "It pains me to inform you that [despite my] working on the Central Peace Committee for such a long time and many times approaching you for redressing grievances of Muslims, these grievances remain unredressed and your latest promises on the 8th January 1947 when I interviewed you have not been fulfilled so far
>
> "Thereafter, the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa assured me that he would get an appointment from you for me to meet you on the 2nd instant but regret to say that that appointment, for reasons unknown to me, has not been so far fixed Apart from this, you will agree with me that these complaints were repeatedly brought forward before the Central Peace Committee meetings and all the members including the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa and Mr S K Patil will vouchsafe that these complaints were serious and required the immediate attention of the Government
>
> "In view of the above, I am sure you will agree with me that the patience of the Muslims has reached a point where they would be

Enclosure to Appendix V

COPY OF LETTER DATED 23 OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

(Copy forwarded to the Secretary, Press Advisory Committee, Bombay)

At the outset I wish to make it explicitly clear that in bringing the following facts to your knowledge once again, I am actuated by motives which should be obvious to you and, therefore, I hope and trust you will enquire into these facts in the interest of peace and tranquillity of the city

It is indeed astonishing, more or less unexpected, that the authorities of the Police and the Home Department who would show such callous indifference and criminal negligence to such glaring instigations appearing daily in English and vernacular papers and which have definitely not only hampered the genuine and sincere efforts of those who have been preaching peace and order but have added to the injury and allowed matters to go from bad to worse

No thinking person, above all those in authority who claim a sense of responsibility, justice and fair play, can sit silent and ignore to take steps against actual culprits who are equally [*sic* for guilty] of instigating a crime

One is equally horrified and disgusted to find out that this deliberate indifference is partial inasmuch as strong steps have been taken to curb the liberty of the Muslim press which indulged in bringing out the faults of the Ministry and quoting instances which in the name of good government any impartial judge would appreciate

In order, however, to state my case in point I quote below a few of the many extracts from press reports in my possession to refresh your memory and for ready reference for such action as one is expected to take

(1) The *Times of India*, dated 17 9 1946, under the caption "Unholy Alliance"

Masulipatam, September 16th The Communist Party's recent instructions that Communists should join in the absence [*sic* for observance] of "Direct Action Day" of August 16 last as instructed by Mr Jinnah constitute a "grand alliance, and unholy at that, between the League and Communist Party", said Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya addressing a mass meeting here He added, "This cannot be tolerated, especially the outbreaks of violence by the party, which are actually endemic all over the country Therefore, every home must become a castle, every citizen a soldier, and every minor and major must learn the use of the *lathi* so that they may defend themselves against attack

(2) The *Bombay Samachar* dated 7 9 1946, Editorial

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

The whole editorial is full of malice, mischief and entirely directed against one community

(3) The *Bombay Samachar,* dated 18 9 1946

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

This news is from Ahmedabad which is most misleading, incorrect and deliberately instigating

(4) The *Bombay Samachar,* dated 16 9 1946

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

This news is also from Ahmedabad and published in bold type with a view to attracting the attention of the people of Bombay

(5) The *Janam Bhoomi,* dated 11 9 1946

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

(6) The *Janam Bhoomi,* dated 11 9 1946

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

Some of the lorry numbers given here have been doing the Muslim League relief work which fact is known to the police, and yet from [*sic*] the letter allowed to be published shows the obvious motive

(7) In quoting this paragraph, I cannot help remembering Shakespeare "Caesar's wife was above reproach" Reference the *Times of India* dated 13 9 1946 under [the caption] "Mr Liaquat Ali's charges denied official Bombay Statement"

"The attention of the Government of Bombay has been drawn to a statement to the press issued by Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, making serious allegations of partiality against Government in the Bombay disturbances", says the Director of Information, Bombay

"Government have made careful inquiries into the allegations of partiality which have been made by some representatives of the Muslim community They have interviewed persons bringing complaints, both Muslims and others, and interrogated the officers concerned, have examined reports and statistical material relating to the various cases of assault and disturbance and the action taken by the police, including figures of arrests and of casualties, and have considered all material supplied to them, and they are satisfied that there is no substance in the allegations of partiality or in suggestions that the police have failed to afford protection to all parties to the extent of their ability The police have been working on lines determined as a result of their long experience in the past and on a system which was laid down before the present Government took office

"Enormous demands have been made on the police for protection from members of both the communities In only a small proportion of cases do the police find on investigation that there is a real need for protection But unfortunately owing to the large number of calls made upon the police there is often some delay [which] has led to complaints of partiality from members of both communities If only persons really in need of police protection applied for it, assistance could be rendered far more promptly

MORE HINDUS ARRESTED

"With regard to suggestions that oppressive measures have been taken against Muslims, Government are satisfied that arrests are made entirely with due regard to the needs of preserving the peace and protecting the public In actual fact, *the number of Hindus arrested exceeds the number of Muslims [arrested], although the former community has suffered no less severely during the disturbances than the latter* It is regretted that the General Secretary of the All India Muslim League should have made an incorrect statement like this

"Government desire to assure the public of their firm intention to protect all peace-seeking citizens, to whatever community they belong, and to ensure that in maintaining the peace no partiality is shown to any section of the public

"Government will always be prepared to inquire into individual complaints by members of any community with regard to action taken in the riots *But Government have come to the general conclusion that the police and military have dealt with the riots in an impartial manner and deserve great gratitude from the citizens of Bombay for the strenuous work of protecting them from anti-social elements, which they have been doing for the last ten days and still continue to do*

"Government would act for the whole-hearted co-operation of all sections of the public and acknowledge gratefully the assistance which has been given in public spirit by all communities "

(8) The *Matru Bhoomi*, dated 8 9 1946, under the caption, "Letter written by Mr M B Baukli, 220 Kika Street", quotes

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

(9) The *Times of India*, dated 14 9 1946, [under the caption] *False news by Leaguers Telegrams withheld under rules*[writes]

"Some of the telegraph messages about the disturbances in Bombay sent by Mr I I Chundrigar, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, and other Leaguers to some newspapers

he has been released by the magistrate with a fine of Re 1, stating that it was a technical offence Such judgements are considered by Muslims as partial and the news thereof excites the feelings of Muslims Offences of lesser gravity than this committed by Muslims are reported to have been severely dealt with

"On page one in the same paper, under caption of *'Attack on Sikh'*, news is given which would infuriate the Sikh community in Bombay and is likely to result in breach of peace

"Will you please look into the case and do the needful in the matter?"

COPY OF LETTER DATED 27TH SEPTEMBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY
(COPY FORWARDED TO THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY)

"My attention has been drawn to a cartoon which appears in the *Pravasi* (*Janma Bhumi*) of 22nd instant, depicting a big size of Mr Gandhi's figure with the figures of Budh Dev, Jesus Christ, Zarathust [Zoroaster] Sahib and a *masjid* which is shown at the feet of Mr Gandhi This has excited the feelings of the Muslims as it is a direct insult to Islam

"I am surprised how the authorities concerned have not moved in the matter, especially at the present time which is disturbed and abnormal

"Will you please look into the matter and issue orders to proscribe all the copies of the said issue of the *Pravasi* (*Janma Bhumi*) and the block in the first instance, and then deal with the Editor and the Publisher of the paper according to law and do justice to Muslims "

COPY OF LETTER DATED 8TH OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY

"I beg to draw your attention to the last page of the *Bombay Samachar* of today's date wherein, in the reports of the riot, the paper has stated that a well-known pleader, Mr Patanker, was killed at Kurla and the paper has also stated that Mr Patanker was a member of the Peace Committee

"May I ask you whether such reports are inflammatory and are allowed to be published in the papers? May I also know whether you are taking any action against this paper?"

COPY OF LETTER DATED 10TH OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY

"I beg to draw your attention to the statement issued by Mr B G Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, in which he has given names of

Map 18
Western India States, Present Estimated Population [F 7-A/44]
Map 19
Rajputana States, 1941 Statistics [F 7-A/47]
Map 20
Rajputana States, Present Estimated Population [F 7-A/48]
Map 21
Central India States, 1941 Statistics [F 7-A/55]
Map 22
Central India States, Present Estimated Population [F 7-A/56]
Map 23
Punjab States, 1941 Statistics [F 7-A/62]
Map 24
Punjab States, Present Estimated Population [F 7-A/63]
Map 25
U P States, 1941 Statistics [F 7-A/69]
Map 26
U P States, Present Estimated Population [F 7-A/70]
Map 27
Kashmir & Jammu State, 1941 Statistics [F 7-A/72]
Map 28
Kashmir & Jammu State, Present Estimated Population [F 7-A/73]
Map 29
Baluchistan States, 1941 Statistics [F 7-A/75]
Map 30
Baluchistan States, Present Estimated Population [F 7-A/76]
Map 31
N W F P States, 1941 Statistics [F 7-A/78]
Map 32
N W F P States, Present Estimated Population [F 7-A/79]

Map[2] of India showing population of various communities in each State and province

Map of India showing the directional movement of mobile Muslim population during the transitional period in each State and District of various provinces

Map of the World showing population of Muslims in various countries

[2]This Map and the two listed thereafter are not available in this Report

Muslims from their respective agencies in right earnest The persons selected for the job should be honest and religious fanatics and should also possess astuteness, presence of mind and common sense so as to carry out this programme without fomenting any communal tension as well as with complete secrecy in order to avoid political resentment

I now deal with the statistical aspects of various States in the following pages of this Report which speaks for itself the utility of the suggestions mentioned above It is not out of place to mention here the deplorable condition of Muslims in Gwalior, Datia, Dholpur and Marwar States where Muslims are being subjected to rough, shameful and inhuman treatment as has already been reported in certain papers of the country

Before giving details of the various States in India I am to state that every Chapter relating to a particular Agency contains two maps of that Agency in the main Report The first map shows community-wise population according to the 1941 Census while the second map represents the inflated population of various communities in accordance with the percentage variation, the principle of which is based on the very lines laid down in the main Report[3] on Indian population already submitted I regret that the true position of certain States as to their location could not be shown correctly in these maps for want of sufficient space which was required for filling in the five entries but that the correct position has been shown in the map of India referred to in the last chapter

Abdul Rashid Khan, *A Report on the Transfer and Concentration of Muslim Population in Other States Provinces and Central Compact Blocks* F 7/1-71 QAP

CHAPTER I ASSAM STATES[4]

The following tables[5] indicate community-wise population in Assam States

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Manipur	5,12,069	3,03,636	29,562	25,727	1,52,805	339
Kasia	2,13,586	24,091	2,100	186	1,86,332	877
Total	7,25,655	3,27,727	31,662	25,913	3,39,137	1,216

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Manipur	5,67,840	3,24,852	31,672	47,499	1,63,496	321
Kasia	2,24,280	25,305	2,205	210	1,95,615	945
Total	7,92,120	3,50,157	33,877	47,709	3,59,111	1,266

Manipur Muslims represent only 9 7% of the Hindus in this State The numerical strength of the Muslims warrants immediate emigration to avoid untoward happenings in future The Muslims can very easily cross the border and enter the Cachar district of the Assam Province where they are in a majority and thereby increase the strength of their brethren there from 2,49,310 to 2,80,982 against 2,41,606 Hindus there

Kasia The 2,200 Muslims against 25,300 Hindus represent only 8 3% of the Hindus which figure is too deplorable [*sic*] The Muslims should cross over to Sylhet—another Muslim-majority district of Assam—thereby increasing the Muslim strength there from 20,05,626 to 20,07,826 against 12,18,470 Hindus

[4]See Maps 1 and 2 The community-wise population figures shown in these and subsequent maps in the Report are based on corresponding data in the respective Tables
[5]Some of the figures given in these and subsequent Tables are confusing and some of the totals are also incorrect

CHAPTER II BENGAL STATES[5] [& SIKKIM]

The following two tables indicate the community-wise population in the States of the Bengal Province

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Cooch-Behar	6,40,842	3,94,948	2,42,684	187	2,435	588
Tripura	5,13 010	3,47 752	1,23,570	316	33 633	7,739
Mayurbhanj	9,90,977	2,70,042	5 859	61	7,14,954	61
Total	21 44,829	10,12 742	3,72,113	564	7,51,022	8,388

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Cooch-Behar	6,68,891	4,10,696	2,54 835	210	2,520	630
Tripura	5,73,248	3 88 224	1 38,432	336	37,632	8,624
Mayurbhanj	10 50 460	2,86,200	6,254	53	7,57,900	53
Total	22,92,599	10,85,120	3 99,521	599	7,98,052	9,307

Cooch-Behar The 2,54,835 Muslims against 4,10,696 Hindus are not in any danger at all as they are quite a good match for their opponents besides having a huge majority of Muslims in all the surrounding districts in the Bengal and Assam provinces

Baramba	56,092	50,458	247	16	4,358	1,013
Tigiria	27,109	24,472	606	2	1,598	431
Khandpara	92,579	88,568	106	3	3,900	2
Nayagarh	1,71,092	1,61,865	876	38	8,286	27
Ranpur	53,420	49,958	459	1	3,002	-
Daspallah	65,901	53,856	75	13	11,957	-
Baudh	1,52,013	1,28,296	182	17	23,517	1
Bamra	1,94,279	1,13,143	317	1,003	79,814	2
Rairakhol	39,395	30,478	42	2	8,873	-
Sonepur	2,53,849	2,39,250	587	26	13,876	110
Bonai	99,942	38,438	207	269	61,027	1[illegible]
Gangpur	4,22,057	1,01,033	4 697	112	3,16,127	88
Seraikhela	1,61,031	75,365	1,945	30	83,653	38
Kharswan	53,610	21,403	1,073	12	31,112	10
Total	32,07,973	22,68,684	15,170	2,363	9,19,877	1,879

The whole Agency consisting of 23 States is a predominantly Hindu Agency having no Muslim State in its fold The Agency as a whole represents 22,68,684 Hindus against 15,170 Muslims, i e roughly 0 8% Muslims and 99 2% Hindus There are only 4 States where Muslims represent 4 figures against Hindus representing 6 and more than 6 figures, otherwise they are a few hundred in every State I emphatically urge the necessity of transferring these Muslims immediately to a nearby province otherwise I am grieved to state that they will be liquidated or forced to convert to Hinduism since they are not at all in a position to save themselves from these two disasters Moreover, I have a personal experience of the mode of living, culture and education of Muslims belonging to these States They are Muslims in name only and no one can identify them unless and until he enquires about their antecedents Of course, their percentage is quite negligible but they are both assets and liabilities of the 10 crore Muslims of India The location of these States is so complicated that concrete proposals for their transfer cannot be given, hence it is suggested that they may be transferred to Bengal, U P or Hyderabad, whichever is more convenient, but, according to the position indicated in the atlas, Bengal would be the best of the three However, the following paragraph contains detailed suggestions for migration or concentration as the case may be

The Muslims of Keonjhar and Nilgiri, numbering only 1,810, may cross over to Midnapore of Bengal while those living in Seraikhela and Kharswan, amounting to 3,018, should go to Bankura, the nearest district of Bengal The remaining population consisting of 10,342 Muslims may find it more convenient to migrate to Ranchi Muslim Concentrated Block of Bihar

See Maps 5 and 6

Phaltan	78,618	75,129	2,099	94	19	1,277
Ramdurg	42,520	38,765	3,711	6	-	38
Sangli	2,99,322	2,59,409	23,431	1,177	48	15,257
Wadi	2,203	2,102	58	-	-	43
Savanur	23,564	15,272	8,228	9	-	55
Sawantwadi	2,64,651	2,51,830	5,568	7,109	26	118
Total	29,69,000	26,52,878	1,94,624	18,530	9,083	93,885

In this group there are only 2 Muslim States—Janjira and Savanur The Muslims of Jamkhandi and Sawantwadi numbering 20,999 may seek shelter in Savanur, thereby bringing the Muslim population there from 8,228 persons to 29,227 persons against 15,272 Hindus Similarly, the Muslims of Bhor and Wadi States totalling 2,070 persons only against 1,56,755 Hindus must leave their respective States and settle down in the Janjira Muslim State The Muslim strength in Janjira will thus be 19,679 against 86,087 [of the Hindus] Being a Muslim State, the Muslims representing a little less than one-fourth [of the Hindu population] will be safe Later on, Muslims from the adjoining districts of Bombay might find it more to their advantage to come and settle down in this State

The 3,711 Muslims against 38,765 Hindus in Ramdurg should enter the Raichur district of the Nizam['s Dominions,] the nearest district of Hyderabad (Deccan), while the 5,889 Muslims against 72,184 Hindus of the Mudhol State should cross over to Gulbarga, another nearest district of Nizam's territory

The Muslims of Phaltan numbering 2,099 against 75,129 Hindus should leave the State and enter the Osmanabad district of Nizam['s territory] to save themselves from maltreatment at the hands of their neighbours

The Muslims of the remaining States of this Group consisting of Kolhapur, Akalkot, Kurundward (Senior) and (Junior), Miraj (Senior) and (Junior), Jath, Aundh and Sangli, 1,34,019 in number against 18,42,618 Hindus, will have to leave their States, since they represent a very meagre percentage in their own States, to the adjoining or nearby district of Hyderabad, viz Gulbarga, lest they may not [*sic*] be wiped out in the times to come

These suggestions will have to be reconsidered in the light of the situation and circumstances, and in case it is more to the advantage of the Muslims of some of the States in this Group they may be considered for concentration in Bombay Suburban and Surat Muslim Concentrated Blocks

[11] See Maps 13 and 14

The Muslims of Lunawada, only 5,928 against 1,04,432 Hindus, may leave the State and migrate to the Muslim State of Balasinor of this Group, which is the nearest Muslim State Thus they will supplement the Muslim population thereby increasing its Muslim strength from 6,598 persons to 12,526 persons against 58,376 Hindus

The Muslims of Rajpipla, numbering 10,207 against 69,243 Hindus, may cross over to Sachin Muslim State to increase its Muslim strength from 3,300 persons to 13,507 persons against 18,426 Hindus

The Muslims of the remaining States, viz Jawhar, Baria, Bansda, Chhota Udepur, Dharampur, Sant, Surjana, Dangs and the rest of Gujerat Agency, totalling 23,490 against 4,87,506 Hindus, should cross over to Bombay Suburban Muslim Concentrated Block, which is the nearest Block, to save themselves from a disaster which is looming large in view of the present unsettled condition of the country They will thus increase the strength of Muslims in this block from 2,58,212 persons to 3,16,862 persons against 1,92,120 Hindus

The Gujerat Agency known as the Rest of Gujerat States consists of the following small States, whose area varies from 5 sq miles to 100 sq miles and the population from 50 persons to 15,000 persons These States are Bihora, Dhamasia alias Vanmala, Sindhiapura, Virampura, Vora, Agar, Alwa, Amala, Amarpur, Angad, Avchar, Bhilodia, Bilbari, Chhaliar, Chinchil Gaded, Chorangla, Chudesar, Derbhavti, Dhari, Dudhpur, Dodka, Gad-Boriad, Godvi, Gotardi, Gothda, Itwad, Jambughoda, Jesar, Jhari Gharkhadi, Jiral, Kamsoli, Jumkha, Kadana, Kanoda, Kasla Paginu Muwada, Kirli, Mandwa, Mevil, Moka Paginu Muwada, Nahara, Nalia, Nangam, Naswadi, Palasni, Pandu, Palashvihir, Pan Talavdi, Pimpri, Pimpladevi, Polcha, Raika, Rajpur, Rampura, Rengan, Sanjeli, Shanor, Shivbara, Sibora, Sujana, Uchad, Umeta, Vadhyawan, Vajiria, Vakhtapur, Varnolmal, Varnol Moti, Varnol Nani, Vasan Sevada, Vasan Virpur and Vasurna The first 5 States are Muslim States

[12] See Maps 15 and 16

CHAPTER VIII WESTERN INDIA STATES [AGENCY][13]

The following tables indicate community-wise population in each State of this Agency

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Bhavanagar	6,18,429	5,41,806	50,353	376	658	25,236

The Muslims of Idar, Vijaynagar and Sabar Kantha, numbering 30,798 against the Hindu population of 7,61,826 persons, should leave their respective States and enter [the nearby] Radhanpur Muslim State The strength of Muslims in Radhanpur will thus be 39,405 against 56,219 Hindus It will also reinforce the position of the Ruler there in the event of an upheaval for which the Congress Mandal in the States is trying hard

The Muslims of Limbdi, Wadhwan, Bhavanagar, numbering 64,511 against 7,78,080 Hindus, may cross over to the Cambay Muslim State of Gujerat Agency which is located quite close to all these States The number of Muslims in Cambay will thus become 77,430 instead of 12,919 against 83,734 Hindus This State will thus become self-supporting in the times to come It is imperative to strengthen it on account of its location on the sea coast for purposes of trade connections

The Muslims of Navanagar, Porbandar, Gondol, Dhrol, Rajkot, Wankaner and Kathiawar (East and West) may go over to the Junagadh Muslim State in their vicinity The Muslim population in Junagadh numbering 2,57,186 [*sic*] against 16,84,935 Hindus [*sic*] will automatically be strengthened by an increase in its strength from 1,43,150 persons to 4,00,336 persons against 5,99,447 Hindus there To make it a strong Muslim Concentrated Block is also necessary since it is also spread over a large area on the western sea coast of India

The Muslims of Palitana, numbering only 6,307 against 73,180 Hindus, may cross over to the Jafrabad Muslim State by increasing the Muslim population there from 2,122 to 8,429 against 12,688 Hindus Due to its close proximity to the Junagadh Muslim State, this State will become a stronghold in the times to come

The Muslims of Dharangadhra and Morvi, totalling 19,726 against 2,25,073 Hindus, should cross over to Cutch Hindu State, increasing the Muslim strength there, already 1,20,508 persons against 3,27,325 Hindus This State will form a strong Muslim Block with the addition of these Muslims in view of its close proximity to the Sind province which surrounds the boundary of this State for the greater part

[1] See Maps 17 and 18

CHAPTER IX RAJPUTANA STATES[14]

The following tables show the community-wise population in each State of this group

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Abu	4,680	2,618	802	42	1,065	153
Alwar	8,23,055	5,39,369	2,20,334	130	58,430	4,792
Banswara	2,58,760	74,522	7,363	98	1,72,194	4,583
Bharatpur	5,75,625	4,49,091	1,10,296	252	12,435	3,551
Bikaner	12,92,938	9,92,601	1,85,323	255	1 341	1,13,418
Bundi	2,49,374	1,86,063	11,776	25	46,554	4,956
Danta	31,110	16,288	2,968	1	11,522	331
Dholpur	2,86,901	2,53,444	18,509	56	12,762	2,130
Dungarpur	2,74,282	1,02,562	9,068	11	1,56,587	6,054
Jaipur	30,40,876	24,63,801	2,49,215	707	2,93,898	33,255
Jaisalmer	93,246	62,747	27,456	-	2,291	752
Jhalawar	1,22,299	1,05,438	9 600	58	4,889	2,314
Karauli	1,52,413	1,09,214	7,800	16	35,000	383
Kishengarh	1,04,127	91,707	7,585	24	2,026	2,785
Kotah	7,77,398	6,13,719	53,481	1,016	1,03,238	5,944
Kushulgarh (CS)	41,153	4,784	898	-	34,841	630
Lawa (estate)	2,808	2,443	100	-	137	128
Marwar (Jodhpur)	25,55,904	21,24,601	2,14,151	914	95,922	1,20,316
Mewar (Udaipur)	19,26,698	13,34,445	63,849	372	4,50,651	77,381
Palanpur	3,15,855	2,56,143	31,151	53	15,674	12,834
Partabgarh	91,967	42,935	4,473	43	39,482	5,034
Shahpur	61,173	52,154	2,914	-	4,663	1,442
Sirohi	2,33,879	1,64,913	7,113	251	45,686	15,916
Tonk	3,53,687	2,72,203	51,616	21	23,200	6,647
Total	1,36,70,208	1,03,17,805	12,97,841	4,345	16,24,488	4,25,729

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Abu	4,723	2,618	802	42	1,065	156
Alwar	8,64,200	5,66,334	2,31,349	135	61,350	5,032
Banswara	2,79,450	80,482	7,955	106	1,85,962	4,945
Bharatpur	6,27,403	4,89,501	1,20,223	262	13,551	3,866
Bikaner	15,51,608	11,91,121	2,22,483	305	1,601	1,36,098
Bundi	2,76,823	1,99,083	22,595	27	49,812	5,306
Danta	33,909	17,755	3,238	1	12,557	358

Dholpur	3,04,112	2,68,648	19,619	59	13,530	2,256
Dungarpur	3,01,713	1,12,822	9,978	12	1,72,247	6,654
Jaipur	32,84,140	26,60,905	2,69,151	763	3,17,410	35,911
Jaisalmer	1,02,556	69,017	30,206	-	2,511	822
Jhalawar	1,29,634	1,11,762	10,176	61	5,183	2,452
Karauli	1,58,505	1,13,582	8,112	16	36,400	395
Kishengarh	1,14,529	1,00,877	8,345	26	2,226	3,055
Kotah	8,31,862	6,56,668	57,289	1,086	1,10,462	6,357
Kushulgarh (CS)	44,441	5,168	970	-	37,625	678
Lawa(estate)	4,838	4,467	105	-	138	128
Marwar (Jodhpur)	28,11,484	23,37,061	2,35,561	1,004	1,05,512	1,32,346
Mewar (Udaipur)	21,19,358	14,67,885	70,229	412	4,95,711	85,121
Palanpur	3,47,428	2,81,751	34,271	58	17,234	14,114
Partabgarh	1,01,152	47,225	4,913	46	43,432	5,534
Shahpur	64,839	55,286	3,088	-	4,939	1,526
Sirohi	2,43,235	1,71,509	7,397	263	47,514	16,552
Tonk	3,74,905	2,88,535	54,712	23	24,592	7,043
Total	1,49,76,847	1,13,00,062	14,32,783	4,711	17,62,586	4,76,705

The Muslims of Jaisalmer, only 30,206 against 60,107 Hindus, are quite capable of meeting any eventuality because of their high percentage as well as due to close proximity with the Northern Pakistan Sovereign State

The 22,483 Muslims of Bikaner may cross the border and enter Hissar of the Punjab, thereby increasing its strength to some extent

One-third of the Muslims living close to Thar (Great Indian Desert) in Marwar (Jodhpur) State, numbering 78,000 may cross over to the Tharparkar district of Sind and increase the Muslim strength there considerably

The remaining 1,57,561 Muslims of Marwar should cross over to Ajmer-Merwara Administration, which should become a strong Muslim Concentrated Block in the course of time since the Muslims cannot forgo their claims and for passing it [*sic* for let it pass] to the hands of their opponents due to [the location of] Khwaja Sahib's *Dargah Sharif* there Thus they will bring the Muslim strength there from 97,092 persons to 2,54,653 persons

Out of the 70,229 Muslims in the Mewar (Udaipur) State, 20,000 may cross over to a part of the nearby Tonk State since Tonk is scattered over a large area in Rajputana at three places, and the remaining 50,229 may cross over to Ajmer-Merwara Administration

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Baroda	28,55,010	21,94,244	2,23,610	9,182	3,73,207	54,767

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Baroda	30,83,400	23,69,736	2,41,488	9,936	4,03,056	59,184[14]

Since Baroda State is spread over a large area touching the Sachin Muslim State, Surat and the Ahmedabad Muslim Concentrated Blocks, the populace inhabited [Muslims living] in this premier State should migrate as under

(1) Out of the 2,41,488 Muslims, 11,488 may go to the Sachin Muslim State, thereby increasing its Muslim population from 3,300 to 14,788 against 18,426 Hindus
(2) The 1,30,000 Muslims may cross over to the Surat Block and increase the Muslim population there to 4,17,723 against 5,19,574 Hindus, i e 80 4% [of the Hindu population]
(3) The remaining 1,00,000 Muslims should cross the border and settle down in the Ahmedabad Muslim Concentrated Block and thereby increase its Muslim population from 5,13,859 to 6,13,859 against 7,46,375 Hindus, i e 82 2% [of the Hindus]

[14]See Maps 19 and 20

CHAPTER X CENTRAL INDIA STATES[15]

As usual, the following two tables indicate the community-wise population in each State of this Agency

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Indore	15,13,966	10,78,527	1,26,181	3,804	2,82,602	22,846
Rewa	18,20,445	16,78,496	39,044	140	1,01,308	1,457
Bhopal	7,85,322	5,97,254	1,09,870	491	70,969	6,738
Dewas (Senior)	89,352	77,100	8,854	207	2,322	869
Dewas (Junior)	83,669	67,535	10,157	44	5,208	725
Khilchipur	48,462	45,824	1,271	3	1,534	10
Narsingarh	1,25,178	1,12,473	5,376	14	7,007	308

Rajgarh	1,48,609	1,36,298	7,584	10	4,489	228
Ajaigarh	96,596	82,592	2,773	-	10,457	774
Baoni	25,256	22,102	3,096	29	24	5
Baraunda	17,306	14,204	111	-	2,991	-
Bijawar	1,20,990	1,11,701	2,685	10	5,061	1,533
Charkhari	1,23,594	1,16,214	5,665	3	1,443	269
Chhatarpur	1,84,720	1,72,506	7,222	192	4,136	664
Datia	1,74,072	1,66,299	6,700	21	812	240
Maihar	79,558	60,928	2,472	3	16,123	32
Nagod	87,911	75,310	2,369	3	10,169	60
Orcha	3,63,405	3,33,215	8,850	18	15,382	5,940
Panna	2,31,170	1,93,977	5,228	38	29,850	2,077
Samthar	38,279	35,023	2,795	-	438	23
Alirajpur	1,12,754	8,244	2,692	715	1,00,927	176
Barwani	1,76,666	62,035	8,387	109	1,05,367	768
Dhar	2,53,210	1,38,596	17,974	283	92,982	3,375
Jaora	1,16,953	90,365	19,523	120	4,521	2,424
Jhabua	1,78,327	23,095	2,660	83	1,50,250	2,239
Ratlam	1,26,117	67,002	13,756	855	39,013	5,491
Sailana	40,228	20,776	1,308	11	17,290	843
Sitamau	33,461	29,699	1,867	49	1,079	767
Khaniadhana	20,124	19,016	571	-	-	537
Rest of C India	2,95,814	2,26,633	13,054	543	53,974	1,610
Total	75,11,694	58,63,039	4,40,101	7,798	11,37,728	63,028

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Indore	16 19,873	11,53,995	1,35,034	4,066	3,02,382	24,396
Rewa	19,47,989	17 95,995	41,837	161	1,08,391	1,605
Bhopal	8 16,764	6,21,192	1,14,296	520	73,788	6,968
Dewas (Senior)	96,552	83,268	9,612	216	2,484	972
Dewas (Junior)	86,996	70,200	10,608	52	5,408	728
Khilchipur	50,071	47,174	1,339	3	1,545	10
Narsingarh	1 31,484	1,18,125	5,670	16	7,350	323
Rajgarh	1,51 610	1,39,026	7,752	10	4,590	232
Ajaigarh	1,02 502	87,556	2,968	-	11,130	848
Baoni	28,288	24,752	3,472	32	27	5
Baraunda	18 003	14,768	115	-	3,120	-
Bijawar	1,23 430	1,13,934	2,754	10	5,202	1,530
Charkhari	1,26,075	1,18,524	5,814	3	1,428	306
Chhatarpur	1,97,415	1 84,575	7,704	214	4,387	535
Datia	1,81,024	1,72,952	6,968	22	832	250
Maihar	84,307	64,554	2,650	3	17,066	34
Nagod	95 000	81,324	2,592	3	11,016	65
Orcha	4 02,482	3,59,856	9,602	20	26,632	6,372
Panna	2 42 800	2,03,700	5,460	40	31,395	2,205

The Muslims residing in a number of small States, [collectively] known as Rest of Central India States, the details of which are being provided in Enclosure 1, may find it more convenient to cross over to Pathari and Mohammadgarh Muslim States but it would be rather more advantageous if they also migrate to the Banda district of U P where a large number of these small States is located Hence it is suggested that 14,168 Muslims against 2,44,728 Hindus may cross over to Banda and thus increase the Muslim strength there from 56,523 persons to 70,691 persons against 7,34,400 Hindus

GWALIOR STATE

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of States	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Gwalior	40,06,159	34,63,310	2,40,903	1,352	2,45,066	55,528

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of States	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Gwalior	42,86,634	37,05,731	2,57,763	1,498	2,62,257	59,385

To reiterate I propose that 2,57,763 Muslims against 37,05,731 Hindus, i e representing 7% of the Hindus, must save themselves by migrating to the Etawah or Agra districts of U P It would be much to their advantage as well as to the advantage of the U P Muslims if they settle down in the Agra district and its vicinity, which will ultimately form a strong Muslim Concentrated Block The Muslim population in Gwalior is becoming too unsafe every day in view of [the possible] aggression by their neighbours as well as carelessness of its Ruler who is, probably, not taking any action for or interest in the safety of his Muslim subjects

[1] See Maps 21 and 22

CHAPTER XI PUNJAB STATES[1a]

The following tables indicate the position of the population of various communities in the Punjab States

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Dujana	30,666	23,727	6,939	-	-	-
Pataudi	21,520	17,728	3,655	9	-	128
Loharu	27,892	23,923	3,960	-	-	9
Mandi	2,32,593	2,27,457	4,328	2	-	806
Suket	71,094	69,974	884	-	-	234
Kapurthala	3,78,380	61,546	2,13,754	1,643	-	1,01,437
Malerkotla	88,109	23,479	33,881	115	-	30,634
Faridkot	1,99,283	21,771	61,352	240	-	1,15,920
Chamba	1,68,908	1,55,480	12,318	150	-	960
Patiala	19,36,259	5,97,488	4,36,539	1,412	-	9,00,820
Jind	3,61,812	2,68,349	50,972	134	-	42,357
Nabha	3,40,044	1,46,430	70,373	213	-	1,23,028
Bahawalpur	13,41,209	1,69,002	10,98,814	2,942	-	70,451
Khairpur	3,05,787	49,604	2,53,690	92	779	1,622
Kalsia	67,393	29,866	25,049	55	-	12,423
Sirmur	1,56,026	1,46,199	7,374	31	-	2,422
Bilaspur	1,10,336	1,08,375	1,498	5	-	458
Tehri-Garhwal'	3,97,369	3,95,340	1,945	5	-	79
Other Punjab States	3,59,520	3,45,520	10,812	92	-	3,096
Total	65,94,198	28,81,258	22,98,137	7,140	779	14,06,884

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Dujana	31,888	24,671	7,217	-	-	-
Pataudi	22,913	18,967	3,907	9	-	30
Loharu	30 672	26,313	4,350	-	-	9
Mandi	2,42,543	2,37,101	4,586	2	-	854
Suket	78,192	76,964	974	-	-	254
Kapurthala	4,16,199	67,695	2,35,124	1,803	-	1,11,577
Malerkotla	90,749	24,181	34,898	118	-	31,552
Faridkot	2,19,217	23,951	67 492	264	-	1,27,510
Chamba	1,82,430	1,67,930	13 302	162	-	1,036
Patiala	21,29,884	6,57 238	4,80,194	1,552	-	9,90,900
Jind	3,83,522	2,84,447	54,032	142	-	44,901
Nabha	3,70,535	1,59,506	76,700	231	-	1,34,098
Bahawalpur	15,82,623	1,99,422	12,96,598	3,464	-	83,141
Khairpur	3,43,241	56,052	2,75,371	105	883	1,830
Kalsia	71,497	31 694	26,606	53	-	13,144
Sirmur	1,60,732	1,50,586	7,622	52	-	2,472
Bilaspur	1,15,880	1,13,820	1,575	5	-	480

States with a huge Muslim population It is now high time to exploit the resources of these two Muslim States in full The details of the resources of these two States will be provided in the Third Report, the outline of which has already been described in the First as well in this Report By the way, I must state that the Ruler of Bahawalpur, with the help of his Revenue Minister and Political Secretary, who is also the Director of Food, is taking keen interest in the agricultural development of his State The Agricultural Department of the Punjab Government may help the State Department with the concurrence of its Ruler Similarly, Khan Bahadur Aijaz Ali, the President of the Council of Administrators in Khairpur State, is a great Administrator and a learned officer of the United Provinces Civil Service He is also doing very nicely in respect of various developments in the State His efforts should also be supplemented by the Sind Government

[11] See Maps 23 and 24
[1] This State, which is really located in U P , has been wrongly included in the Punjab

CHAPTER XII U P STATES[18]

The following two tables indicate the community-wise population in each State

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*
[Data as given in the relevant Map]

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Rampur	25 96,169	2,37,911	2,35,458	3,245	-	428
Benares	4 51 428	4,09,258	38,167	36	3,404	563
Total	3 04,7597	6,47,169	2,73 625	3,281	3,404	991

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Benares	4,83,159	4,37,951	40,874	54	3,638	642
Rampur	4 86 590	2,42,658	2,40,210	3,314	-	408
Total	9,69,749	6,80,609	2,81,084	3,368	3,638	1,050

Rampur The State needs no readjustment, organization or concentration since it has got an equal number of Hindus and Muslims besides being a Muslim State Also, it is sorrounded by such districts

of U P as are also surplus districts of Muslim population in a way

Benares The Muslims in this State are rather unsafe but the formation of an Eastern Muslim Concentrated Block, stretching from Gonda right up to Mirzapur, will no doubt be a passport for the safety of the Muslims residing in this State Bhadohi, a town in this State, is a great industrial centre and the industry there is practically all in Muslim hands It would be extremely detrimental if they leave the State and migrate elsewhere They must therefore consolidate themselves at one centre, preferably in Bhadohi and roundabout it to make it a strong unit of the Block I am not at liberty to point out anything more on the subject at present but this much I know that the people there can take care of themselves against mob violence

[18]See Maps 25 and 26

CHAPTER XIII KASHMIR & JAMMU STATE[19]

The following tables indicate the community-wise population in the State

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Kashmir	39,45,090	8,07,475	29,97,113	3,077	29,374	1,08,051
Gilgit	76,526	74	76,427	2	-	23
Total	40,21,616	8,07,549	30,73,540	3,079	29,374	1,08,074

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Kashmir	41,42,355	8,47,875	31,46,955	3,255	30,870	1,13,400
Gilgit	83,436	109	83,276	26	-	25
Total	42,25,791	8,47,984	32,30,231	3,281	30,870	1,13,425

[By population], the Kashmir State is a predominantly Muslim State and has got a huge Muslim surplus, hence no suggestions in respect of migration or concentration are being incorporated under this head

[19]See Maps 27 and 28 The description of the State as given in this Report differs from the official name which is 'Jammu and Kashmir State "

the Government there might seek help and concession from the Northern Pakistan Sovereign State to get possession of a port or try to get it proclaimed a mutual port of both the Kingdom and the Federation for commercial purposes

[20]See Maps 29 and 30

CHAPTER XV NORTH WEST FRONTIER STATES[21]

All the States and Tribal Territories lie beyond the boundary of the Frontier Province and are actually outside India, with an undefined frontier known as "No Man's Land" The States of Chitral, Amb, Phulera, Swat, etc , are predominantly Muslim States These States, including Kurram and Khyber Agencies and the Political Areas under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan, are actually situated in the Tribal Territory and do not form part of the Frontier Province Separate figures for each State are not available and where they are available they differ considerably from one source to another However, efforts have been made to arrive at a most accurate and authentic estimate of the population of these States and Tracts, which are indicated in the following table The population given for the States is based on the statistics provided by the Whitaker's *World Statistics* and the *Encyclopedia of Islam* The numbers of other communities besides the Muslims in these States have not been provided, assuming that their numbers must be negligible and that they must be predominantly Muslim areas with negligible percentages of others No suggestions for reorganization etc , have been provided here except that it is urgent to exploit the resources (particularly mineral) of these States by providing financial and technical help to the Rulers by the Pakistan Federation

[Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

State or Territory	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Chitral	91,000	-	91,000	-	-	-
Dir	2,73,000	-	2,73,000	-	-	-
Swat	2,34,200	-	2,34,200	-	-	-
Phulera	7,600	-	7,600	-	-	-
Amb	41,000	-	41,000	-	-	-
Kurram	6,796	987	4,681	124	1,004	-
Khyber	8,281	2,878	4,000	210	1,192	1
North Waziristan	18,453	6,264	8,909	1,716	1,564	-

were not as reliable as I wanted them to be During the last 4½ months commencing from 1st November (the day I took up this work as a result of *Bihar Carange and Garhmukteswar Massacre*)[2] to 28 February 1947, the period entirely devoted by me to the completion of this work, the idea had taken root in my mind that if these statistics are known to others (opponents), they would certainly derive the same conclusions and advantage which these reports seek to provide for the betterment of Muslim masses inhabited in the danger zone of this sub-continent Accordingly, the only solution that suggested itself to me was to confine my work to my own labours without inviting help from others so much so that the work of preparation of maps and charts was also taken up by me and not entrusted to draftsmen or artists I hope that the names and figures, which could not be written nicely, would not be minded much However, the unavoidable discrepancies contained in the First Report have been rectified in this Report at several places and an additional Chapter has been provided to rectify such discrepancies as well as a consolidated summary of the recommendations has been given in the following pages with illustrations, etc , etc

In order to minimise the extent of work as well as to avoid the Report becoming too bulky a document, all the recommendations, in accordance with the consolidated suggestions of the First and Second Reports, have been compressed and the writing material has been eliminated altogether and a table has been provided instead which has got five columns as under

(a) Column 1 represents the name or names of centres from where Muslim population is suggested to migrate,
(b) Column 2 represents the name of unit where population is to be concentrated,
(c) Column 3 gives the number of Muslims to be migrated from the places given in Column 1 and to be concentrated in places given in Column 2,
(d) Column 4 gives the total strength of Muslims after the migration which naturally differs considerably from the number of Muslims obtaining at present, and
(e) Column 5 indicates total strength of Hindus of the Unit where Muslims are to be concentrated

Table showing recommendations for migrations etc

Centres of Migration	Units of Concentration	Number to be migrated	Total Strength	Total Strength of Hindus
Purnea	Darjeeling	2,24,800	2,34,819	1,04,265
Purnea	Jalpaiguri	5,00,000	7,64,075	5,79,180
Pabna	Howrah	6,00,000	9,49,634	13,98,182
Bakerganj	24-Parganas	13,00,000	26,08,948	26,32,140
Faridpur	Khulna	9,50,000	13,45,120	10,75,470
Nadia	Hoogly	4,53,600}		
Jessore	Hoogly	2,93,580}	9,79,132	12,31,440
Murshidabad	Burdwan	2,66,970}		
Pabna	Burdwan	5,00,000}	15,37,340	15,07,738
Rajshahi	Burdwan	4,00,000}		
Singhbhum	Midnapore	48,384}		
Keonjhar and Nilgiri States	Midnapore	1,810}		
Mayurbhanj State	Midnapore	6,254}	4,63,949	28,69,740
Balasor, Cuttock Puri (Orissa)	Midnapore	1,38,119}		
Sambalpur	Midnapore	5,460}		
Santhal Parganas	Birbhum	2,75,940	5,77,605	7,20,720
Manbhum, Seraikhela & Kharswan	Bankura	1,43,150	2,03,198	11,64,888
Manipur State	Cachar	31,672	2,80,982	2,41,606
Sylhet	Khasi-Jaintia	12,000	13,728	13,716
Lakhimpur	Cachar	49,952	3,30 934	
Sibsagar	Nowgong	55,944	3,38,557	3,25,892
Lushai Hills	Tippera	111	33,62,878	9,94,400
Khasi State	Sylhet	2,200	19,95,826	12,18,470
Patna, Muzaffarpur, Monghyr, Gaya, Darbhanga & Purnea	Bhagalpur	21,09,274	23,99,954	21,03,712
Hazaribagh & Ranchi	Ranchi	3,06,960	3,06,960	4,39,400
Rest of Eastern States	Ranchi	10,342	3,17,352	4,39,400
Jashpur, Udaipur, Sakti, Sarangarh, Raigarh & Chhatisgarh States	Ranchi	5,708	3 23,010	4,39,400
Palamau	Mirzapur	90 418}		
Changbakhar, Korea & Surguja States	Mirzapur	11,901}	1,57,424	8,57,177
Champaran	Gorakhpur	4,28,664	8,84,782	36,36,542
Shahabad	Azamgarh	1,00,000	3,38,356	17,26,704
Shahabad	Ballia	94,273}		
Saran	Ballia	1,92,796}	3,62,453	10,05,156
Saran	Ghazipur	2,00,000	2,98,560	9,60,850
Karauli and Dholpur States	Agra	27,731}		
Etawah	Agra	57,988}		
Muttra	Agra	87 120}	7,74,601	11,93,136
Gwalior State	Agra	2,57,763}		

Bharatpur State	Agra	1,20,223}		
Ajaigarh, Baraunda				
Maihar and Nagod	Banda	8,325}		
Panna State	Banda	2,730}	70,691	7,34,400
Rest of Central India States	Banda	14,168}		
Chhatarpur and Orcha States	Hamirpur	12,505	52,640	5,66,993
Samthar	Jalaun	2,996	36,273	4,75,723
Khaniadhana and Datia States	Jhansi	7,604}		
Orcha and Panna States	Jhansi	7,521}	1,78,689	7,45,392
Saugor and Jubbulpore of C P	Jhansi	1,18,398}		
Garhwal	Bijnor	5,512	3,59,467	5,82,330
Mainpuri & Etah (U P)	Aligarh	1,65,334}		
Moradabad	Aligarh	1,00 000}	4,66,646	12,43,944
Hoshangabad, Chhindwara,				
Bhandara, Balaghat, Bilaspur				
and Mandla	Nagpur	1,42,505	2,12,995	9,66,614
Betul	Amraoti	8,632	1,12,477	8,58,165
Wardha	Yeotmal	20 700	77,616	6,80,554
Nellore,Cuddapah, Chittor,				
North Arcot South Arcot,				
Chingleput	Madras	7,02,347	8,07,617	6,63,100
Trichnopoly, Madura, Ramnand,				
Tinnevelly	Tanjore	5,11,310}		
Puddokkotai	Tanjore	17,850}	7,06,376	23,90,960
Coimbatore, Nilgiri and South				
Kanara	Malabar	14,18,068}		
Cochin	Malabar	1,19,028}	18,59,937	26,27,316
Salem	Mysore	83,740	5,98,052	70,87,796
Ratnagiri, Kolaba, Poona and				
Satara, Jawahar, Baria, Bansda,				
Chhota Udepur	Bombay	2,58,212}	3,16,862	1,92,120
Dharampur, Sant, Surgana,Dangs		}		
and Rest of Gujrat Small estates	Suburban	23,490}		
Thana and Broach	Surat	2,01,504}		
Baroda (Part of)	Surat	1,30,000}	4,17,723	5,19,574
Ahmedabad and Khaira	Ahmedabad	3,10,334}		
Baroda (Part of)	City	1,00,000}	6,13,859	7,46,375
Bikaner	Hissar	22,483}		
Ferozepur	Hissar	2,00,000}	5,24,795	6,91,862
Alwar	Gurgaon	2,00,000	4,88,080	6,05,340
Alwar	Pataudi	11,349	15,256	18,967
Alwar	Loharu	20,000	24,350	26,313
Jullundur & Ludhiana (1 lac each)	Karnal	2,00,000	5,28,644	7,19,280
Gurdaspur	Kangra	2,00,000}		
Sialkot	Kangra	3,00,000}	5,45,792	8,88,810
Gurdaspur	Mandi	60,000	64,586	2,37,101
Gurdaspur	Bilaspur	40,000	41,575	1,13,820
Gurdaspur	Simla	30,000	37,140	30,090
Sialkot	Chamba	1,50,000	1,63,302	1,67,930
Tehri Garhwal	Sirmur	2,140}		

Indore, Dhar, Mewar (Sr) & (Jr) and Rajgarh (C I)	Bhopal	1,88,375	3,39,960	6,21,192
Ratlam, Sailana, Sitamau, Jhabua, Barwani and Alirajpur States (C I)	Jaora	33,720	54,780	97,632
Rewa and Bijawar	Allahabad	44,591	3,74,917	16,95,503
Charkhari State (C I)	Baoni	5,814	9,286	24,752
Abu, Sirohi, Danta, Banswara and Dungarpur Rajputana States	Palanpur	29,386	63,657	2,81,751
Jodhpur (Part of)	Tharparkar in Sind	78,000	4,04,040	2,76,600

No Map of the consolidated population of the Indian States separately in various Agencies of India has been provided in this Report as was done for the provinces in the First Report but the Report contains a Map[24] of India giving community-wise population of each district of a Province and State on the opposite page which contains the community-wise population Each State and district has got five entries with different colours to distinguish each other as under Names of districts have been shown in black while States have been indicated in yellow

(i) Hindus have been shown in red figures,
(ii) Muslims have been indicated in green figures,
(iii) Christians have been shown in black figures,
(iv) Tribes have been shown in blue, and
(v) Others have been indicated in yellow colour

These data relate to the present estimated population of various communities in each individual State and District of a Province and do not relate to the 1941 figures

To elaborate these recommendations once again, another Map[25] of India is being provided on the opposite page giving the district and State-wise population of Muslims and others after the migration during the course of transitional period in the following order

(a) figures in red represent Hindus,
(b) figures in green denote Muslims, and
(c) figures in blue indicate the total strength of Others, viz Christians, Sikhs, Parsees, Tribes, Buddhists, Jews, Anglo-Indians, etc , etc

The movement of Muslims during the transitional period along with the number suggested for migration has been indicated by means of arrows drawn from the centres of emigration towards the centres of concentration

The arrows indicating the directional movement of mobile Muslim population during the transitional period in the Map[26] opposite will certainly invite criticisms from any onlooker but while putting the sugges-

CHAPTER XIX WORLD [MUSLIM] POPULATION

This Chapter relates to the population of Muslims in the World with particular relation to the Muslim population in India

There have been many attempts to estimate the number of Muslims throughout the World Accurate statistics are, however, lacking for many regions of the Islamic World There has been, therefore, a great discrepancy between different estimates Where official information is lacking, rough calculations are worked out and the figures for Muslim populations are approximations

Among the widely known and frequently quoted statistics are those drawn up by Louis Massignon in his *Annuaire de Monde Musulman* (Third Edition, Paris, 1929) Many of the figures he gives are, however, inaccurate and very much below the true estimates as given by official reports in many of the principal Muslim countries

I give below a statistical survey (in more or less round numbers) of the World of Islam based primarily on the most recent official statistics where such are available (consulting several works *The Statesman's Year-book, Annuaire Statistique de la Societe des Nations, Political Hand-book of the World*, etc) Where official information is unavailable, an estimate is rendered as complete as possible by data supplied by reliable sources (These data were, no doubt, obtained or borrowed from some of the books written by Muslim writers either in connection with the Pakistan demand of the Muslims in India or various comments on Muslim affairs in the World)

The following table contains the estimated population of Muslims in various countries of the World including the Indian Musalmans and their Muslim Territorial Zones and Compact Areas, which already exist and which have been newly formed provisionally as a result of the recommendations contained in the two Reports

AFRICAN CONTINENT

Name of the country, colony, etc	Total Population
Egypt	1,65,00,000
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	55,00,000
Tripoli (Libya Italiana)	11,00,000
Tunis	25,68,000
Morocco (French Zone)	64,88,000
Algeria	68,72,000
Morocco West (French)	55,00,000

Bahrain Island	1,32,000
The six Trucial States (Sharjah, Ras Al-Khaimah, Um Al-Qawain, Ajman, Dobai, Abu Dhabi)	1,65,000
Aden and Perim	56,000
Qatar	33,000
Socotra	13,000
Iran	1,65,00,000
Afghanistan	1,10,00,000
Borneo (British)	2,97,000
Brunei	36,000
Sarawak	1,32,000
Ceylon	6,60,000
Straits Settlement (comprising the Settlement of Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Labuan)	8,80,000
The Unfederated Malay States (Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kalantan and Trengganu)	12,10,000
China (Kansu, Sinkiang, Shansi, Chibli and Yunnan), Sinkiang consists of Chinese Turkistan, Kulja and Kashgaria and all Chinese dependencies lying between Mongolia on the north and Tibet on the south	5,50,00,000
Siam	6,60,000
Tibet	11,000
Manchukuo	22,00,000
Inner, and Outer Mongolia	33,00,000
Netherlands (Dutch) Indies (Java, Sumatra, Flauw-Lingga, Lanka-Billiton, Borneo, Celebes, Malaccas and New Guinea, Timor and Bali Lombak)	6,05,00,000
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U S S R)	3,30,00,000
French Indo-China	5,50,000
Japan	1,11,100
Total For Asia, excluding India	22,39,83,000
North America	1,10,000
South America	4,40,000
Oceania, Australasia & Phillippine Islands	22,00,000
Total	27,50,000
India	10,04,41,577
Total World Muslim Population	44,56,86,077

A Map[2] of the World is attached on the opposite page representing the Muslim World including Indian Musalmans who have been divided into four zones as under

(1) Northern Pakistan—a predominantly Muslim region,
(2) Eastern Pakistan–a predominantly Muslim zone,
(3) Central Territorial Blocks and Compact Areas formed in the minority provinces where Muslims are a major minority, and
(4) Muslim Indian States, where Muslims, though representing a low percentage in comparison with Hindus at present, will, in due course of time, form a strong Muslim Block if full or a part of the recommendations contained in these two Reports are implemented

In the Map[28] of the World on the opposite page, green dots represent Muslim Concentrated Blocks or Muslim Compact Territorial Zones (Areas) where Muslim concentration has been suggested in this Report while the predominantly Muslim zones have been indicated with a green border

As a result of the recommendations contained in these two Reports, the total Muslim population in India comes to 10,04,41,577 at present while the estimated population of the Muslim World, excluding India, has come to 34,52,44,500 Thus the total Muslim population of the World comes to 44,56,86,077 at present

According to the World population of the Muslims indicated above, the Indian Musalmans represent roughly 28% of the total Muslim World Moreover, India as a country is the biggest in the world in respect of Muslim population except that Africa being a continent, is a little bigger in population though several times bigger in area As a matter of fact, I am not satisfied with the world statistics particularly in respect of China and Russia

As far as I recollect, since the days of my childhood the number of Musalmans reported or quoted for China is five crores and I am not prepared to accept the low increase of only 50 lacs in its population during the last two decades

Similarly, Russia, especially Siberia, Tajikistan, Kazakhistan, Kurdistan, etc , is a predominantly Muslim region and its population figure at 3,30,00,000 appears to me to be on the much lower side

The region known as the Undefined Frontier, North and North-West of India and Afghanistan below the U S S R , is surely a Muslim land but its population is not available as far as my knowledge goes anywhere, I am sure if actual data are obtained for this Region it will, no doubt, be a good figure

I am quite confident that if the data according to the present enumeration are available for these three countries, the figure of Muslim population will mount up to a much greater number Besides, the

exclusively deal with the agricultural, mineral, industrial and economic aspects of the Muslim Zones in detail so far as it is possible according to the availability or otherwise of the statistics and estimates in the country This Report will follow shortly, say after a lapse of two months, provided the same is needed in this connection The justification for writing the Third Report is to indicate if it would be possible for the Muslim Compact Areas to accommodate the inflated [influx of the] Muslim population according to the resources available at their disposal at present

[27&28]Not available in this Report

Enclosure 1

F 74/105

REST OF THE CENTRAL INDIA STATES

Kurwai, Mohammadgarh, Pathari, Makrai, Alipura, Banka Pahari, Beri, Bhaisaunda, Bihat, Bijna, Dhurwai, Garrauli, Gaurihar, Jaso, Jigni, Kamta, Rajaula, Kothi, Lugasi, Naigawan-Rebai, Pahara, Paldeo Sarila, Sohawal, Taraon and Tori-Fatehpur, Jobat, Kathiawara, Mathwar, Piploda, and Ratanmal

The first three are Muslim estates while the rest are Hindu States

The area of these independent miniature States varies from 5 sq miles to 70 sq miles while the population varies from 1,000 to 40,000

Enclosure 2

F 74/106

OTHER PUNJAB STATES

Baghai, Baghat, Balsan, Bashahr, Khaneti, Delath, Bhajji, Bija, Darkoti, Dhami, Jubbal, Rawingarh, Dhadi, Kotili, Theog, Madhan, Ghund, Ratesh, Kumharsain, Kuthar, Kunihar, Mahiog, Mangal Nalgarh, Sangri and Tharoch

The areas of these small States vary from 10 sq miles to 100 sq miles while the population varies from 200 to 25,000 As a matter of fact, individually these States have got no bearing at all but while considering the whole block known as Punjab Hill States they represent a substanial population of various communities

VI. 2

NOTE ON AREAS WHERE CASTE HINDUS AND SIKHS TOGETHER ARE NOT IN MAJORITY[1]

F. 722/43-70

BIHAR PROVINCE[2]

The province of Bihar comprising 16 districts in all covers an area of 69,745 sq miles and has got a total population of 3,63,40,151 according to the 1941 Census Table 1 gives in detail the position of various communities in each district of the province It will be seen form this table that the Divisions of Patna, Tirhut and Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts of Bhagalpur Division are predominantly a Caste Hindu region while the rest of the Province, comprising the districts of Purnea and Santhal Parganas of Tirhut Division and the whole of Chhota Nagpur Division, is an area where Caste Hindus plus Sikhs do not form a majority The community-wise position on the basis of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs versus Others, including the Musalmans, is being provided again in the following table The declaration of a separate province in Bihar has already been demanded by the Adibasis, the majority community in this part of Bihar, and their leader Mr Jai Pal had asked for this declaration a few days back Their demand excludes the Purnea district, which has got a substantial Muslim population of about 10 lakh against 11 lakh Caste Hindus plus Sikhs, hence this district has also been included in this demand This part of Bihar Province is a contiguous area and can easily be divided without any complication whatsoever relating to physical and political features of the province It is also intimated in this connection that the most important river of the country, the *Ganges*, also passes through the district of the Santhal Parganas

Table 1 Community-wise Population in Bihar Province according to the 1941 Census

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Christians	Anglo-Indians
Patna	15 76 450	879	2 35,201	3,33,302	1,267	1,002
Gaya	17 77 909	117	2 93 347	4,44,394	697	138
Shahabad	17 70 835	741	1,76 344	3 49,692	1,167	44

Total Berar	22,73,315	2,230	91,577	3,35,169	6,125	203
Total C P & Berar	98,80,583	14,996	30,51,413	7,83,697	48,260	4,538

Districts	Others	Jains	Parsees	Buddhists	Jews	Tribes	Total
Saugor	295	27 389	57	12	-	82,107	9,39,068
Jubbulpore	1,960	8,223	269	26	105	1,66,958	9,10,603
Mandla	8	700	-	-	-	3,04,099	5,04,580
Hoshangabad	225	4,700	66	6	4	1,23,621	8,23,585
Nimar	45	2,202	103	-	10	1,12,570	5,13,276
Jubbulpore Division	2533	43,214	495	44	119	7,89,355	36,91,112
Betul	33	1 377	8	-	-	1 68,229	4,38,342
Chhindwara	85	4,184	42	-	5	3,95,781	10,34,040
Wardha	12	3,109	25		7	51,848	5,19,330
Nagpur	2,273	3,916	1,053	15	142	66,471	10,59,989
Chanda	40	904	35	-		1 72,610	8,73,284
Nagpur Division	2,443	13,490	1,163	15	154	8,54,939	39,24,985
Bhandara	25	820	1	-	2	1 15,173	9,63,225
Balaghat	14	1,259	16		-	1,38,693	6,34,350
Raipur	59	1,858	39	3	1	2,73,260	15,16,686
Bilaspur	179	492	15	1	-	2,87,680	15,49,509
Drug	23	1,413	1	-	-	2,04,859	9,28,851
Chhatisgath Division	300	5,842	72	4	3	10,19,665	55,92,621
Berar							
Amraoti	327	5,222	139	5	-	63,210	9,88,524
Akola	88	7 585	95	-	9	30,456	9,07,742
Buldana	45	5,550	34	-	-	19,849	8,20,862
Yeotmal	35	3,690	16	2	-	1 59,890	8,87,738
Total Berar	495	22,047	284	7	9	2,73,405	36 04,866
Total C P & Berar	5 771	84 593	2 014	70	285	29,37,364	168,13,584

*See note 2

Table 3 shows the actual position of various communities inhabiting this province The province consists of 15 districts, excluding the 4 districts of Berar The province is a predominantly Caste Hindu area but the statistics reveal an interesting feature, which may be utilised with advantage, if possible The district of Nimar of Jubbulpore Division and Betul and Chhindwara districts of Nagpur Division, form a contiguous area in this province (Map 34), where Caste Hindus plus Sikhs are a minority against Others The district of Mandla is also a deficit area in respect of Caste Hindu and Sikh population but because it is a distant district and is not continuous with the same it has been

Kistna	10,20,885	1	76,722	2,11,327	1,34,434	213
Guntur	16,31,631	11	1,83,298	1,65,625	2,93,768	66
Nellore	11,25,636		1,20,004	2,90,542	80,246	398
Cuddapah	7,30,964	6	1,47,258	1,32,512	45,635	11
Kurnool	7,23,406	-	1,73,157	1,50,883	92,818	15
Bellary	7,72,044	-	1,12,705	1 55,026	9,191	174
Anantapore	8,70,676	8	1,18,435	1,73,441	7,296	512
Madras	5,17,711	66	95,702	1,03,338	45,760	9,610
Chingleput	11,66,103	78	43,386	5,67,177	42,404	2,816
Chittoor	12,17,506	1	97,000	3,03,225	13,808	136
North Arcot	18,49,419	10	1 74,317	5,02,097	41,341	701
Salem	23 29,358	9	79,016	4,35,700	24,352	365
Cimbatore	22,07,400	77	73,169	4,44,593	68,593	1,716
South Arcot	17,16 117	8	84,118	7,34,404	67,661	652
Tanjore	16,90,810	12	1,70,414	6,08,197	90,419	306
Trichnopoly	15,68,863	13	91,668	4,21,340	1,08,805	3,082
Madura	18,31,605	13	1,06,788	4,11,793	94,302	998
Ramnand	14,27,405	27	1 43,344	3,09,424	99,273	68
Tinnevelly	14 77,482	1	1,44,950	3,56,771	2,62,909	818
South Kanara	10,09,791	6	2,14,109	98 356	1,39,005	82
Nilgiri	54,393	37	17,561	48,373	21,019	1,809
Malabar	21,19,632	14	13 37,760	3,59,021	75,052	2,468
Total	3,47 31,330	418	38,96 452	80 68,492	20,01,082	28,661

Name of Districts	Others Christians	Jains	Parsees	Bud-dhists	Jews	Tribes	Others	Total
Vizigapatam	958	50	13	4	107	2,86 923	32	38,45,944
Godavari East	136	195	9	4		1,01 532	2	21,61,863
Godavari West	1 849	11		16	-	1 999	28	13,80,088
Kistna	116	77		160	9	345	5	11,44,294
Guntur	486	106	14	5	15	2 246	12	22,77,283
Nellore	90	45		28	-	15	22	16,17,026
Cuddapah	24	67	1		-	19	10	10,56,507
Kurnool	59	7				5,878	27	11,46,250
Bellary	92	1 319	8	70	-	548	58	10,51,235
Anantapore	48	999	-			4	-	11 71,419
Madras	2 871	1 829	187	213	13	2	180	7,77 481
Chingleput	769	952	13	97	1	39	200	18,23,955
Chittoor	478	17	6	6			112	16,32,395
North Arcot	221	9 121	3	306	4		-	25,77,540
Salem	370	37	1	2		6	10	28,69,226
Cimbatore	643	140	32	27		12 440	818	28,09,648
South Arcot	944	4 731	1	11	-	-	106	26,08,753
Tanjore	2 129	608	-	28	-	213	239	25,63,375
Trichnopoly	212	84	-			24	-	21,94,091
Madura	1 031	40	3	12	6	6	4	24,46,601
Ramnand	61	19	3	19	-		-	19 79,643
Tinnevelly	205	1	2	20	-	161	1 223	22,44,543
South Kanara	39	8 870	17	2		52,312	927	15,23,516
Nilgiri	3 329	194	26	17		62,951	-	2,09,709
Malabar	375	618	30	25	36	34,366	28	39,29,425
Total	17 535	30 136	369	1,072	191	562,029	4,042	4,93,41,810

PUNJAB PROVINCE[*]

Statistics relating to Eastern Punjab and a district-wise commentary have already been submitted[9] and discussed in detail with the Quaid-i-Azam, hence the same are not reproduced in this Report However, Map 38 is given with district-wise population of Caste Hindus, Sikhs and Others to provide a clear view of this part of the Punjab which is the most controversial problem at present The figures[10] [below each district] represent Caste Hindus, Sikhs and Others

It is intimated in this connection that the Resolution of the Hindu Congress [calling for division of the Punjab] is not based on [the distribution of] population alone but on full consideration of the resources of the Province as would be evident from the following short description of the resources of this part of the Punjab

1 *Antimony*[11] is available in Shigiri glacier in Lahaul above Hamta Pass (14,500 ft) in the district of Kangra
2 *Petroleum* is also available in the North-West Himalayas, especially in Kangra district
3 *Slate* Hill ranges are available in Kangra district and Aravalli series near Rewari-Gurgaon
4 *Fluorspar* is found in the granitic vein of the Sutlej Valley, North-West Himalayas, which is also [situated] in Kangra and Simla Hills
5 *Beryls and Aquamarines* occur in Bashahr Valley in the district of Kangra
6 *Kyanite* a gemstone, which is often mistaken for sapphire, is also found in Bashahr [Valley] in Kangra district
7 *Gypsum* is the material the chief uses of which are as a fertilizer and in the manufacture of Plaster of Paris This is also available in Spiti and Kanaur in the Himalayas in Kangra district Minor occurrences of this are also reported in Krol Limestones of Sirmur State
8 *Black Paint*, a mineral paint is also available in some of the formations of the Himalayas in Simla and Kangra districts
9 The production of *Wheat* alone in these districts is normally 1039 5 thousand tons while its total production in the Punjab is 3162 5 thousand tons It means that this area alone accounts for one-third of the total produce
10 The normal production of *Gram* in this area is 624 5 thousand tons while the total provincial production is 1016 8 thousand tons, i e nearly half of the production of the Punjab
11 The normal production of *Gur* in this part of the province is 186 6 thousand tons while the total provincial production is 324 7

plus Sikhs and the Green ones represent Others, which include Muslims, Christians, Scheduled Castes and Tribes In the case of the Punjab, three figures have been provided Caste Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims plus Scheduled Castes and Tribes This was done because the bulk of the Sikh population lives in the Punjab and the Sikhs are supposed to be the third power in the province, but I doubt it very much

[1]Not reproduced here It consolidates the data already given in Maps 33 to 39

APPENDIX VII

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN THE PUNJAB

The Muslim League's claim to be the sole representative of the Indian Muslims was all but proven by the general elections held in 1945-46 The Muslim League had won a landslide In the Punjab, it bagged 75 out of 84 Muslim seats in a house of 175, and emerged as the largest single party However, it had not been called upon to form a Ministry Instead a Coalition of the Congress, Unionists and Sikhs had been installed as the only Provincial Coalition Ministry The Muslim League had been smarting under chagrin ever since This caused an under-current of resentment in the League circles Nevertheless through public meetings and demonstrations, the League kept up an anti-Ministry campaign specially when in January 1947, the Punjab Government decided to curb the growing power of the ML by declaring the Muslim League National Guards unlawful On 24 January 1947, the police carried out a search at the Muslim League National Guards headquarters in Lahore To this the Muslim League, already embittered, reacted strongly The Government move was challenged and defied, which led to the arrest, under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, of prominent League leaders like Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot, Firoz Khan Noon, Begum Shah Nawaz, Shaukat Hayat Khan, Mian Iftikharuddin and Mian Mumtaz Daultana These arrests triggered a vigorous Civil Disobedience Movement across the province

The Punjab Government had failed to anticipate and grasp the consequences of its ill-advised move The outcry against suppression of civil and political liberties sparked widespread public demonstrations and rallies defying the Government ban Thousands courted arrest The Government reacted to this mass upsurge by resorting to *lathi*-charge, tear-gassing and even firing on the determined and undaunted crowds It failed to make any dent in the movement which continued unabated The Punjab Government was, in the event, obliged to seek a settlement with the League The ban on public meetings was lifted and those arrested were released The Government also agreed to consider placing the Public Safety Ordinance before the Provincial Assembly The movement was called off on 26 February 1947 The Muslim League had won a decisive political victory On 2 March 1947, the Tiwana Ministry resigned

The Appendix portrays day-to-day development of the movement

After the arrest of the League leaders, the police secured entrance into the office of the National Guards premises [sic] by breaking the locks and commenced the search

Over 1,000 steel helmets are reported to have so far been recovered from the office of the National Guards

[Two paras omitted]

ANTI-MINISTRY SLOGANS

A number of demonstrations during the day were climaxed tonight when a crowd of several hundred shouted anti-Ministry slogans in front of the Charing Cross Police Station where the League leaders—who have refused to apply for bail—are held

Some windows were broken in a hotel adjoining the [National] Guards office Another crowd which gathered during the search this morning reportedly emptied a lorry of steel helmets which police had seized along with uniform badges and Guard Organisation papers

Lahore Police Chief, J P Norton, said, the League leaders were arrested on charges of obstructing the police

Since about 10 o'clock, police have ringed the Birdwood Road residences of the Punjab Muslim National Guards Commander, Amir Hussain Shah (arrested this morning) while women members, nearly a score of them, of the Punjab Muslim League Women's Committee, have locked the house resisting the police searches

From inside the besieged locked house, the Organiser of the Women's Committee, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, told the Associated Press of America on phone, that they "have decided to defy the police attempt to search" the house "The search can only be made over our dead bodies We will resist the police," she exclaimed on the wire

Among the ladies inside the house were the 70-year old Lady Shafi, Committee Secretary, Fatima Begum, Lady Zulfiqar Ali and Begum Kamaluddin

The besieged residence at last was searched by police early this evening after arresting Punjab League President, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, named as an emergency measure after Khan of Mamdot was arrested—persuaded them to let in the police Begum Kamaluddin, member of All India Women's Muslim League and three male students were arrested at the house

Ghazanfar Ali Khan, League Member in India's Interim Government, visited arrested Leaguers in Charing Cross Police Station and said they were regarding it as a picnic However, at Delhi another League Minister of the Interim Government, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, said in a statement

Jullundur Cantonment was also carried out and some papers were seized No arrests have so far been made

AT AMRITSAR

The police carried out simultaneous searches today mostly of houses and offices of workers and organisers of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh and the Muslim League National Guards The searches continued for greater part of the day as the literature recovered from these places is still being sorted out About 19 houses were searched and the police recovered three daggers and some uniforms No arrests have been made

AT LYALLPUR

The Lyallpur police raided today the houses of Seth Ramnarain Varmani, Seth Kundanshah Vij and Mr Sachdev, leaders of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh The office of the Muslim National Guards and the house of Shaikh Bashir Ahmad, Muslim League leader were also searched Nothing was, however, recovered

AT FEROZEPORE

Under orders from the Punjab Government, the local police searched the offices and residence of the office bearers and prominent workers of the Muslim National Guards and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh The police carried out searches for three hours both in cantonment and city The police, it is stated, recovered important literature, uniforms and heap of helmets

AT SIMLA

Under search warrant from District Magistrate Simla, over six police officers raided today the office of Simla National Guards on The Mall Several other police officers patrolled outside the office Search continued from early morning till late afternoon, but nothing was taken over

AT LUDHIANA

Ludhiana police raided the office of the City Muslim League this morning and searched the office for an hour in the presence of the General Secretary, Khwaja Mazhar Jamil The search was made in connection with the Muslim National Guards Organisation, which has been declared unlawful by the Punjab Government The houses of Professor Ghulam Abbas, Chowdhri Mohardin, Municipal Commissioner, Dr Mahboob Alam Akram and several others are reported to have been searched by the police A few unimportant printed papers from the Muslim League office have been carried away by the police in the raid

Osmania College and High School came out of their classes Muslim League leaders addressed meetings later in the evening —API

[1]*Dawn*, 27 January 1947

VII.3

'ULAMA CONDEMN SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES[1]

KARACHI, [Jan 25] A Resolution condemning the arrests of the Muslim League leaders in the Punjab yesterday was passed by the All India Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Islam Conference at Hyderabad (Sind) today Maulana Mohammed Sharif, a prominent leader from the Punjab, presided over the conference

The speakers criticised the action of the Punjab Government against the Muslim National Guards Organisation which has been started by the Muslim League for the protection of the Muslim community had never given any cause to the authorities for such action Their activities had always been peaceful

The conference recommended that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League meeting at Karachi next week should take suitable action in the matter —API

[1]*Dawn* 27 January 1947

VII.4

MUSLIMS MAY TAKE IT AS CHALLENGE TO THE LEAGUE ITSELF[1]
—GHAZANFAR ALI

LAHORE, [Jan 25] "The [Muslim] National Guards in the Punjab is a branch of an all-India body and the parent body may not allow what has happened in the Punjab to remain a local or provincial issue," says Mr Ghazanfar Ali, Member for Health in the Interim Government in a statement commenting on the banning by the Punjab Government of the Muslim League National Guards and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh

"I have seen the official communique explaining the decision to declare the Muslim League National Guards and the so-called Rashtriya Sewak Sangh as unlawful associations in this province The attempt to bracket these two bodies together is, I think both wrong and full of potential mischief

been confined to inculcating discipline among Muslims, maintaining order at public meetings and processions, and carrying out relief work in times of distress During the war, the National Guards played an important part in assisting the Civil authority in affording relief to the evacuees from Burma During the Bengal Famine they carried out extensive relief operations, and during the recent Bihar massacres they did exemplary humanitarian work

"The fact is that the present Punjab Ministry, which is essentially Hindu in character and which continues in office with the support of a handful of Muslim quislings, is an unnatural form of Government for the Punjab where Muslims form a majority in the population

"The recent by-election in Dera Ghazi Khan, in which the Muslim League won a remarkable victory in spite of every [sic] conceivable odds and obstacles put by the authorities in the way of the League candidate, has once again demonstrated Muslim Punjab's lack of confidence in the present Ministry which is now making a desperate bid to overawe and suppress the Muslim League by these repressive measures

"Its present action in outlawing the National Guards and arresting respected and responsible leaders of the Punjab Muslims marks the culmination of a long chain of oppression and persecution of Muslim Leaguers throughout the province since the Ministry came into office

"The Punjab Ministry has thrown a challenge to the Muslim League Organisation not only in the Punjab but throughout India, and it alone must bear the responsibility for the consequences of its insane action "

[1] *Dawn*, 27 January 1947

VII.6

DELHI OBSERVES COMPLETE *HARTAL*[1]

Muslims observed complete *hartal* in Delhi on Saturday as a protest against the arrest of the Punjab League leaders and the ban on the Punjab Muslim National Guards The Muslim students also joined the protest and there was complete strike in the Anglo-Arabic College The Hindu shops were also closed as a protest against the ban on the RSS

Chandni Chowk, Sabzi Mandi, Sadar Bazaar, the Cloth Market, *Juma Masjid* and all other business centres presented a deserted appearance Only most of the Muslim shops in Connaught Place were closed

no action was taken against them in those provinces But in the Punjab where there have been no troubles they have banned the National Guards The aim of the Ministry is to cripple the Muslim League Organization "

Mr Qadeeruddin Ahmad said that Delhi Muslims should be ready to meet every situation because what happened in the Punjab could happen in Delhi He said "If such a thing happened in Delhi we will resist it as heroically as the Punjab Muslims are doing "

Mr Manzoorul Haq, *Salar*, Delhi Provincial National Guards, said that the National Guards were ready to make every sacrifice and would not take any challenge to their existence lying down

Mr Abdul Mohie Jafri, Mr H A Suboohi, Mr Ayub Ahmad Kirmani also addressed the meeting

Resolutions protesting against the cut in ration and sympathising with the teachers' demands were moved and supported by Mr Abdul Ghani Shamsi and Mr Anis Hashmi respectively

Earlier batches of young Muslim boys went round the city calling upon the people to observe *hartal*

The Working Committee of the Daryaganj Muslim Women's League condemned the Punjab Government's action and declared that the Muslim women were behind their leaders in all eventualities

[1] *Dawn*, 27 January 1947

VII.7

LEAGUE LEADERS RELEASED UNCONDITIONALLY[1]

Civil Disobedience Campaign Gains Momentum in Punjab

213 Persons Including 8 Women Rounded Up Tear-Gas Used Again More Protests and *Hartals*

LAHORE [Jan 26] The Punjab Muslim League Campaign of Civil Disobedience is gaining momentum and the arrest of 213 persons, including 8 women and 5 members of the Lahore Corporation and use of tear-gas on a large scale on a resolute crowd of 7,000 strong were the highlights of the third day of the Movement Following 2 statements in his self-defence by the Premier, Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Kamaluddin were released from the Central Jail at 9 p m

The six members of the Punjab League High Command, who were arrested in Lahore on Friday, namely, Khan of Mamdot, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mian Iftikharuddin, Sardar

and declaring it unlawful under Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, is most high-handed and unwarranted action and besides it raises another very serious question as it strikes at the root of civil liberties

"This is followed up with terrorist methods of searching the offices of the Muslim National Guards and arresting Muslim Leaguers This policy of suppression and oppression of Muslim League raises very grave issues

"It is not clear whether this policy and the action taken by the Punjab Government is by the Ministry, or the Governor, or both The Premier of the Punjab, who was in Delhi discussing with the Viceroy, the question of a military academy for the Punjab, when asked what he had to say about this action on the part of the Punjab Government, to my astonishment, said that he had nothing to say until he returned to Lahore

"Evidently, the decision was taken in his absence and without his knowledge and I hope the Premier will explain his position without any further delay with regard to this matter

"The repercussions of this one more mad and inimical action against the Muslim League on the part of the Punjab Government will be terrific all over Muslim India and I appeal to the Viceroy to immediately intervene and save the situation which otherwise may take a very serious turn for which the entire responsibility will rest with the Viceroy and H M G

"The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League which is meeting in Karachi on the 29th of January will consider the whole matter and decide upon what course of action should be adopted to meet this uncalled for aggression and unwarranted policy of the Punjab Government at this most critical time when already there is so much trouble and unrest all over India "—API

[1] *Dawn* 28 January 1947

VII.9

BAN ON MUSLIM LEAGUE NATIONAL GUARDS LIFTED[1]

League to Continue Struggle Against Ban on Civil Liberties
Punjab Muslim Press Gagged

LAHORE, [Jan 28] The police arrested at mid-night all top-ranking leaders including Khan of Mamdot, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mr Mumtaz

Daultana, Mian Iftikharuddin, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mr Ghulamuddin Kasuri, Professor Abdul Waheed, Mian Noorullah and Mian Amiruddin

They have been taken to the Charing Cross Police Station Mr Jinnah has been informed

An earlier message from the same correspondent said The Punjab League won the first round of its battle against the Congress-Khizar Fascist regime when the Punjab Premier made a statement to the Press this afternoon withdrawing the ban on the Muslim League National Guards

Following the lifting of the ban, the Punjab League announced that the struggle will continue till the ban on processions and public meetings is lifted In pursuance of that decision Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Noon, Miss Zahida Hayat and Mian Amiruddin courted arrest But they were taken out of Lahore and then let off at different places

The Punjab Muslim press has decided to suspend publication for 15 days from Thursday next This decision was taken by *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Zamindar*, *Ehsan* and *Eastern Times* following an order by the Punjab Government directing the papers not to publish anything concerned with or bearing on the agitation against the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

Khizar-Congress Coalition in the Punjab which has already been shaken to its foundation by the first impact of the League's movement is now resorting to most objectionable Nazi tactics to gag all expression of free objective views regarding the League's movement which is now assuming gigantic proportions throughout the province The Punjab Government have served an order this evening on the editors of all the newspapers in Lahore and news agencies directing them "not to print or publish in any of their issue for a period of 15 days, any statement or report which is not official, any comment, any correspondence or any other matter concerned with or bearing on the agitation against the provisions of the Punjab Safety Ordinance", adds an API message

An APA report adds

The Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim League declared today its intention of continuing the "present all-out, non-violent mass struggle against the reactionary Punjab regime" in a statement issued a short time after the Punjab Ministry withdrew its five-day-old ban on the League National Guards and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh

"The struggle will continue", the Committee asserted in a 1,000-word statement, "until the normal functioning of peaceful and legitimate popular groups and parties is secured"

Our message to them is "Stand firm, and go forward in the front rank of this non-violent struggle, offering yourself for arrest in the largest possible numbers for the vindication of our honour and our freedom and for the achievement of our Pakistan "

[1]*Dawn*, 30 January 1947
[2]Not legible in the original

VII.12

PUNJAB BAN REDUCED TO MOCKERY[1]
Province-Wide Demonstrations Gain Momentum
Premier's 70-Year-Old Uncle Courts Arrest
Tiwana Issues Lying Communiques

LAHORE, [Jan 30] On Thursday, the seventh day of Punjab people's fight for the restoration of civil liberties, the greatest procession numbering hundreds of thousands ever formed itself at Mochi Gate at 2 p m and wended its way towards Montgomery Road The police obstructed their way The huge concourse squatted on the road Seventy of them were arrested

Earlier two lorry-loads of students were arrested in High Court compound where hundreds of them were demonstrating on the occasion of the production before the High Court of Dr Omar Hayat Malik (Principal Islamia College Lahore), on habeas corpus petition

Major Nawab Mumtaz Tiwana, 70-year-old uncle of the Punjab Premier, was arrested today He has renounced his titles and it may be mentioned that he was once A D C to Lord Kitchner

According to an unconfirmed report the Pir of Gulhar Sharif who is also the Pir or spiritual guide of the Punjab Premier himself was arrested today

The MLAs arrested today are Choudhry Bahawal Bakhsh, Mr Abdul Hamid Beg, Mr Khurshid Ali Khan, Ch Abdul Hamid of Montgomery, Mr Abdul Haq, Sheikh Gilani of Multan and Hafiz Mohammad Abdullah of Lyallpur and five others

Throughout the Punjab lakhs of people are daily offering themselves for arrest But the authorities are not arresting them because they have neither accommodation for such a vast multitude nor can they give food to so many Ban on public meetings and processions has been already reduced to a mockery

Another procession headed by Ch Abdul Karim, member of the Lahore Corporation also paraded the streets raising slogans for the release of arrested leaders Mr Chaudhry was arrested

One procession encountered the Governor's car and immediately scores of voices shouted, *Bachha Saqqa Raj Khatam Karo*

The Governor's car turned into a side street and made for Government House by a different route

A women procession also defied the ban led by Mrs Saeeda

The D I G of Police said to me today, "it is remarkable that such mammoth crowds are behaving with such absolute restraint"

The police ban resorted to tactics of stripping arrested persons of their warm clothes and their shoes and then taking them out some distance and letting them loose in the cold without warm covering and bare-footed

K B Rangriyal, former Unionist MLA, has renounced his title and courted arrest

The Punjab branch of All India Muslim Women's Conference has passed a resolution condemning the tear-gassing of women

The Lahore Students' Federation has also condemned the tear-gassing and *lathi*-charging on students

While Muslim Punjab is carrying on the fight for civil liberties, the four Muslim Ministers are carrying on secret conferences with Sardar Baldev Singh who has come here obviously to pull the strings from behind the scene

AT WAZIRABAD

The President of the Muslim League Wazirabad was arrested at his residence on Thursday [29 January] night under Punjab Safety Ordinance

AT BHALWAL

Mr Fazal Haq Piracha, MLA, was arrested in Bhalwal under Section 8 of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, on Friday [30 January]

AT BASTI

An extraordinary general meeting of the Musalmans of Basti was held, under the presidentship of Mr Mohd Ismail, MLA, (Central)

The following resolution was unanimously adopted

"Resolved that this public meeting of the Musalmans of Basti unanimously condemn the action of the Punjab Government in declaring the Muslim National Guards an unlawful Organisation

"The meeting congratulates the League leaders of the Punjab, and the bold stand taken by them in the matter It demands, immediate

Amidst vociferous shouts of "Down with Khizar Ministry", Zahida Hayat planted the League flag on Government House gate It fluttered there for a while and was eventually removed by a police constable

On the way the women's procession passed the house of Minister Qizilbash and demonstrated for some time The doors of the Qizilbash household were bolted and barred

The main meeting outside Mochi Gate was again attended today by a crowd of about one lakh of persons and was addressed by Choudhry Abdul Kabir, Secretary, Lahore City Muslim League He advised people to carry on the struggle peacefully and non-communally till the victory was won

The audience converted itself into a huge procession, passed through Delhi Gate and Dabbi Bazaar and then as it progressed towards The Mall and reached Queen's Statue Volleys of tear-gas bombs were fired at it

Sixty persons were arrested earlier in the day Sixty students were also arrested, among them being Mr Bashir Ahmed, President of the Pakistan Ambulance Corps, 7 Khaksars also courted arrest

In Multan Syed Ali Husain Gardezi, Syed Vilayet Hussain Gardezi, Mr Abdur Razaq, Bar-at-Law, and Mian Abdullah, one of the biggest landlords of the Northern Punjab, Syed Nabi Shah Gilani, MLA and Nawabzada Mohd Islam led a procession estimated to be one lakh strong

Malik Shaukat Ali, Advocate, member of the Lahore Corporation, has been nominated Acting Vice-President by Mr Khalil Ahmed, the Acting President of the Provincial League

[1] *Dawn*, 3 February 1947

VII.16

BOMBAY MUSLIM LEAGUE NATIONAL GUARDS SEEK PERMISSION TO DEFY BAN[1]

BOMBAY, [Feb 1] The Muslim National Guards volunteers have approached the Bombay Muslim League to arrange to send *jathas* to the Punjab to defy the Government's Public Safety Ordinance

Mr Hasan A Sheikh, General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, said today that as no instructions from the President of the All India Muslim League had been received, no decision had been taken by the Provincial Muslim League in this matter —API

[1] *Dawn* 3 February 1947

rights and civil liberties and against continued provocations offered to them by the Provincial Ministry

"One of these provocations, which deeply stirred the feelings of Muslims in the Punjab and outside, was the order promulgated by the Punjab Government on January 24 and since withdrawn declaring the Muslim National Guards an unlawful association

"The Committee strongly condemns this order which amounted to the biggest and most high-handed attempt to suppress the activities of the Muslim League in the Punjab

"The National Guards is a body of volunteers, organised by the Muslim League to assist in peaceful and legitimate political and social work The National Guards functions under the Muslim League's discipline and control and forms part of the Muslim League Organization

"The Working Committee congratulates the Punjab Muslim League Organization on having successfully resisted this insulting order and secured its withdrawal

"The Committee, however, cannot overlook the fact that the mere withdrawal of this order makes no improvement in the general conditions prevailing in the Punjab and involving on the one hand, persistent and widespread persecution of the Muslims for political reasons by the Ministry and, on the other hand, almost total denial to them of those constitutional methods of self-expression and criticism of the Government by the Opposition, which are the essential bases of democracy

"The present Ministry which is a fundamentally unrepresentative and unpopular one and which is a creation of a combination of groups hostile to the Muslim League which is the largest party of the Muslims in the Punjab generally, in its fear of free public opinion and democratic principles and in order to maintain itself in office in defiance of the wishes and rights of the politically awakened majority in the Punjab has been resorting with growing recklessness to the Fascist methods of gagging public opinion, suppressing normal civil and constitutional liberties of the people and persecuting its political opponents

"For a long time now the Provincial Legislature has practically ceased to function except for the purpose of hurried voting on budget once in a year, the Opposition being given absolutely no opportunity of bringing forward non-official proposals in the House

CIVIL LIBERTIES REDUCED

"A ban on public meetings under Section 144 of the Cr P C practically throughout the province has long been a normal feature of the administration

"A so-called Public Safety Ordinance, which reduces civil liberties

to fight on for the sacred cause which was in the interest of all—Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs She asked students to fan themselves out into the villages and to hold aloft the ideals of non-violence and non-communalism

Mr Khalil-ur-Rahman, 6th Acting President of the Provincial League, was arrested at midnight of Saturday

[1]*Dawn* 4 February 1947

VII.23

RESTORE CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE PUNJAB QUAID-I-AZAM'S WARNING[1]

KARACHI, [Feb 2] "I once more draw the attention of the Punjab Government, the Governor and the Viceroy, not to indulge in any camouflage and deal with the situation boldly and frankly and restore civil liberties of the people of the Punjab" said Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement on the Punjab situation today

Mr Jinnah appealed to the Muslims particularly the youth in the Punjab to avoid communal conflicts and keep the movement absolutely peaceful He said that they were fighting on an issue which was just and right one and their sacrifices would not go in vain

The following is the full statement

"I hope that the Muslims of the Punjab will be able to get a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League that was passed in Karachi on February 1 [2] It is unfortunate, and I am sorry to say that the Punjab press is censored and news is blacked out by the executive orders of the Punjab Government

"The policy of the Punjab Government and the actions they took were clearly not based upon any apprehension of breach of peace or communal clash The Punjab Muslims have been the target of extraordinary and exceptional laws by means of which the Punjab Ministry is armed and which were enforced and utilized against the Muslim League party and the Muslims generally, in order to keep this ramshackle Ministry going

"It is absolutely untrue that the Muslim League wants to break the Ministry by force or is indulging in unlawful activities

"The Premier of the Punjab, Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana, has

A batch of twenty was squeezed in a truck and another truck of 25 soldiers was sent with them They were taken some 78 miles away from Lahore and ordered to get down They simply refused A Muslim policeman requested them to get down but they did not Then a tear-gas bomb was exploded in the truck and the students were *lathi*-charged

Another batch of 50 was taken and went to some place 12 miles away These people were made to stand in a line and a few tommies tried to terrify them by showing as if they were going to shoot The students did not stop Then a tommy came out with bayonet and made scratches on the students Then all of them were "flogged" thrice and then they were taken some fourteen miles further and made to get down

[1]*Dawn*, 4 February 1947

VII.25

WOMEN PROCESSION TEAR-GASSED IN FEROZEPORE[1]

FEROZEPORE, [Feb 2] Yesterday a batch of three Muslim League National Guards arrived here from Bhatinda They were arrested by the police at Ferozepore Cantt and were given a severe beating by a police Sub-Inspector, assisted by an A S I

They were later stripped of their clothes and let off in jungle about 12 miles from the city with their knees fallen and ribs broken, the Guards, however, managed to return to the city where they were accommodated by the City Muslim League

They will be examined medically tomorrow and on the basis of the report, a suit will be filed against police officials involved

The agitation in Ferozepore is gaining momentum but the police are not making any arrests Yesterday a women's procession was heavily tear-gassed

[1]*Dawn* 4 February 1947

MIANWALI

Pathans of Mianwali took out a huge procession and defied Section 144 Khan Amir Abdullah Khan, MLA, and others spoke No arrests were made

RAWALPINDI

Sheikh S A Rashid, Altaf Husain, Mohammed Omar, Mohammed Minto, Chaudhry Zafrul Huq, MLA, were arrested

Houses of the following were searched

Mr Abdul Ghafur, Sheikh Mohammed Nasim, Mr Bashir Ahmad, Ghous Mohammad, Municipal Commissioner, Ch Mohammed Iqbal, Municipal Commissioner, and Sheikh Ataullah *Rais-e-Azam*

DHARAMSALA

Dharamsala, Ferozepore, Lyallpur, Gurgaon and Bhera report that processions were taken out but no arrests were made

CHINIOT

Twenty-one persons were arrested in Chiniot yesterday and removed to the District Jail at Jhang according to a news bulletin issued by the Punjab Muslim League Headquarters

CHUNNIA

President of the Lahore District Muslim League was arrested yesterday in Chunnia along with the General Secretary of the Muslim League

JULLUNDUR

In District Jullundur, four prominent League workers have been sentenced to one-year imprisonment each

GUJRAT

The police resorted to *lathi*-charge to disperse huge crowd in Gujrat which was marching into the town, shouting anti-Khizar slogans The police arrested the uniformed volunteers who formed the vanguard of the procession and were marching in military form

KASUR

Complete *hartal* was observed in Kasur yesterday and in the evening a procession was taken out which after parading the main thoroughfares of the town terminated in a public meeting

PAKPATAN

In Pakpatan, Muslim League workers were arrested yesterday for organising a public meeting in defiance of the Ordinance Several arrests were made in Wazirabad yesterday

Gurwani, MLA, Mian Abdul Hamid Dastur, MLA, Mian Khuda Bakhsh, Vice-President of the Ahrar Organisation, Syed Nazar Husain Shah, former Sub-Registrar, Syed Ahmad Khan Zaildar, and Mr Amjad Hameed, Advocate, have been arrested for leading a large gathering of Ordinance-breakers in a place supposed to be "quiet"

BALUCH TRIBES RESTIVE

It is now learned that Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Leghari has succeeded in reaching Dera Ghazi Khan He will court arrest there with 900 *Mukaddaw* or leaders of the Baluch sub-tribes

This is causing the greatest headache to the Dera Ghazi Khan authorities as serious repercussions on Baluch tribes are expected

Another development which has led to speculation is that Khizar Hayat has summoned to Lahore Nawab Sir Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana, who is known to be a "power behind the throne" on which the Punjab puppet sits

FEROZEPORE

On Monday about 80 students took out a procession When the processionists came near the court they were arrested by the police After that they were taken to a room The doors and windows of the room were closed and then a tear-gas bomb was exploded in the room The students were forced to remain there for about 15 minutes when they were allowed to come out It was then found that about 50 students had fainted If they had been kept there for ten minutes more they would have died

About six local leaders were also arrested These include Sardar Ali, Jan Mohammed, Mohammed Sadiq and Mohammed Khalil These arrested leaders were severely beaten as a result of which some of them had their hands and knees broken They have filed suits against the police officials

JULLUNDUR

Details are now available of the torture of Muslim women by the police here on Saturday last, 20 *burqa*-clad women who were leading a procession were arrested at 4 p m They were driven to the police station and detained there till 8-30 p m Then they were driven to a village 8 miles away from the city, bodily thrown out of the police van and left there They walked back to the city, reaching their homes after 1 a m in the early hours of the morning

GUJRAT

The movement in Gujrat took a new turn under the direction of Amir Hussain Shah, *Salar-i-Suba*, Punjab Muslim League National

Times as they have been warned by the Congress Interim Government Members against banning this newspaper

A certain police officer holding title of *Rai Sahib*, of the rank of Deputy Superintendent, is the chief culprit who has started a campaign to torture and molest the Muslims since the latter started their movement for civil liberties

A number of police officers and policemen at Amritsar and Lahore have been suspended by the authorities for their alleged refusal to take harsh action against Muslim lady processionists

It has been already stated in newspaper reports that one day when the mob at Jullundur became "unruly", the police opened fire in the air in order to disperse the mob But that is absolutely wrong The police officer incharge ordered the police to open fire on the mob but the policemen fired in the air as they did not want to kill their own brothers All those policemen have been suspended and put under arrest for further investigation

If the Muslims of the Punjab are imprisoned in different jails of the province, the Punjab Ministers are imprisoned in their bungalows The Punjab Premier and Ministers do not come out of their bungalows as they are afraid of losing their lives Wireless sets have been installed at the residence of the Premier, Inspector-General of Police and other top-ranking Punjab Government officers This helps them to get news regarding the movement as the police reports transmit news through wireless sets fixed at different police stations in the town The wireless and the secrophone are the medium of communication between the Punjab Government officers

A number of Khaksars of the Punjab have been employed by the police to act as fifth columnists Ostensibly they join the processions and show sympathy but they are working as spies sent by the police in order to get all possible information from the Muslim League leaders lodged in jails and from other workers

Voice of Islam, an underground paper published by the Muslims of the Punjab is available to the public from early morning in all the restaurants and hair-cutting saloons In addition to that in different parts of the town Muslim League news boards have been installed where day-to-day news regarding the movement is written Early in the morning, people flock there and read the latest news

[1]*Dawn*, 6 February 1947

AT SARGODHA

At Sargodha, 10,000 peasants spent the whole night outside the Central Jail where the Pir Sahib of Sial Sharif has been lodged

Reports from Western Punjab, which has a Muslim population of nearly 95 per cent, show that the minorities there are enjoying absolute protection of life and property

The ever-vigilant Hindu press has not been able during all these 14 days to report a single case where the slightest act of aggression has been committed by the majority against the minorities

News has been received of the arrest of the following

The Pir of Makhad, Rai Shahadut Khan of Sheikhupura, Cowdhry Mehtab Khan, MLA, Gurgaon, Mr Ahad Khan Meo of Gurgaon The last-named led a procession of 1,000 Meos at Gurgaon

The news that 3 top-ranking All India League leaders are coming to Lahore has electrified the people

The Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif has sent a message that the *Mushaikh* of the Punjab will soon take an active part in the movement

A large number of persons confined in Jullundur, Panipat and Karnal Jails have gone on hunger-strike

An API report states

To protest against the arrest of Dr Omar Hayat Malik, Principal of the Islamia College, Lahore, the students of the College observed "Principal Day" today (Thursday) by taking out a huge procession

The procession which was led by members of the College staff started from the College at 10 a m carrying green flags and raising anti-Ministry slogans and paraded the principal streets of the town reaching the Civil Secretariat at about midday

A large police force headed by District Magistrate and a Deputy Superintendent of Police blocked the progress of the procession near the Civil Secretariat where the processionists held a hostile demonstration for some time The demonstrators then marched back to the Provincial Muslim League office where they dispersed peacefully

The League bulletin states "The President and the Secretary of the Tala Gang Muslim League were also arrested yesterday along with the General Secretary of the Cambellpur District Muslim League," adds API

Twenty persons have been arrested at Sargodha during the last two days including the Pir Sahib of Sial Sharif, the religious leader of the Punjab Chief Minister

SHAHPUR

Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha, Member of the Punjab Legislative

VII.33

OVER 100 ON HUNGER-STRIKE[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 6] Over one hundred Muslim League prisoners, at present lodged in Sonepat, Jullundur and Simla Jails, have been on hunger-strike for the last three days as a protest against ill-treatment by jail officers, according to information received in the office of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League —API

[1] *Dawn*, 8 February 1947

VII.34

BEGUM NOON NARRATES GRIM EXPERIENCE INSIDE TEAR-GASSED VAN[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 6] Begum Noon, wife of Malik Firoz Khan Noon, former Defence Member of the Government of India, who along with ten other purdah (veiled) women was tear-gassed in a police van on February 3 relating the incident to a representative of the Associated Press of India said

"It was about 2 p m when I and ten other women were taken into custody in front of the Punjab Secretariat in Lahore on February 3 We were driven in a police van first to the Charing Cross Police Station and then to a place about six or seven miles from Lahore on Multan Road, where we were asked to get out of the van We told the police Inspector to arrest us and take us to jail but we will not be thrown out here

"We took our stand on the grounds that women, especially purdah women from the city, could not tolerate such a treatment of being taken miles and miles away from their homes, away from any point of public conveyance and dumped on the road I told the Inspector to drive us back to the town He said that his orders were to get us out of this police van here, if we were not willing to get out he should be obliged to use gas Some of the girls, said Begum Noon, replied in a defiant and spirited way that they were ready for bullets not to speak of tear-gas

Begum Noon then explained how the policemen prepared the tear-gas bomb The Inspector put on his gas-mask and then the bomb was thrown into the van and she said "To my horror the door was shut from outside The fumes were brown and burnt like fire I rushed to

When they reached there, it was time for *Maghrib* prayer and th offered prayers in the police station compound

While they were praying *lathi*-armed police virtually surrounded the Hardly had these 60 Muslims finished their communion with God wh the police fell upon them all of a sudden and without any warning European police officer also kept up a running abuse of them in filt language as if providing music for the rhythm of the *lathis*

Four processions were also taken out by students An Anglo-Indi Traffic Inspector belaboured some of the students with his baton ir merciless manner, and though the students could have effectively turn the table on this police underdog, they maintained complete non-v lence

Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Member of the Interim Government, w was in Lahore today on his way to Pind Dadan Khan was an eye-witn of this unprovoked assault on students

Earlier a women's procession also paraded several main streets sta ing from the Purdah Garden. This was led by the indomitable Begu Firoz Khan Noon, Saeeda Waheed, Hashmat Ara, and Saeeda Habibull

News from the mofussil continues to show that the movement is sprea ing and increasing in intensity everywhere

Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar, Sargodha registered a new high pe

In Ferozepore, Mr Manzoorul Haq, *Salar*, Delhi Muslim League N tional Guards, and Malik Maratab Ali Khan led a procession of Natior Guards which was *lathi*-charged by the police Sixty National Guar were injured and 9 arrested The arrested persons were kept in poli lock-up and given no food whatever for one whole day

Villagers continue to take increasing part in the movement in tl district

GUJRAT

The situation here is taking a serious turn The District authorit informed the Punjab Government that it is difficult for them to cope wi the movement with their present police force

MONTGOMERY

The picketing of the courts has become a daily feature of the moveme here making it difficult for the courts to function In addition there is large-scale picketing of police stations

The following Advocates have been arrested Sahibzada Nawazish A Sh Nusrat Ahmed, Sh Jaafar Husain, Mian Abdul Wahab, Syed Moham Shah, Mr Mahbub Gilani, Pir Ashiq Husain, and Sh Abdul Hafeez

SARGODHA

Several thousands of the people who had besieged the Central J

VII.42

PIR OF MANKI SHARIF TO COURT ARREST[1]
50,000 Pathans To Follow Suit 120 Lahore Arrests On Sunday Tiwana's Last-Ditch Stand We Shall Carry On Struggle Until We Achieve Freedom Of Speech

LAHORE, [Feb 9] The bureaucracy-sponsored Tiwana Ministry is making the last ditch-stand against the ever-swelling tide of people's struggle for restoration of their popular rights

Lahore, which is the nerve centre of the movement, was filled to the core on Sunday when Syed Mustafa Shah Gilani, an underground worker appeared dramatically on the stage before a lakh of people outside the Mochi Gate He declared that the Punjab Government with its unpopular Ministers would never succeed in breaking the movement

He revealed that Pir of Manki Sharif will court arrest in Lahore with 50,000 Pathans on the 19th day of the Punjab people's movement

Mr Gilani added "I have come to tell you that Muslims in the mofussil areas are as zealous and resolute in their struggle for the achievement of civil liberties as you are

"I assure you that we shall carry on the struggle and we [shall] succeed in achieving the freedom of speech and association in the Punjab "

There is every indication that the tempo is rising in spite of the 17 days' continuous defiance of ban on public meetings and on processions

In Lahore on Sunday vehicular traffic came to a standstill when wave after wave of processions swung forward from Mochi Gate towards The Mall carrying League flags, demanding restoration of civil liberties and release of leaders

A squad of over 50 helmeted League National Guards marched in a formation They were later arrested along with 70 other persons under the leadership of Mian Abdul Latif Kardar, Syed Abid Ali Shah, MLA and Mohd Arif, MLA (Punjab) were also arrested

While the processionists were returning back [sic] a brick came from a house on Beadon Road and hit a Muslim youth as a result of which he died later in the Mayo Hospital

Malik Shaukat Ali, Acting President of the Punjab Muslim League in an interview on this incident said, "I fervently hope that the action is of a misguided individual I praise the Muslims for their wonderful discipline and the self-control displayed by them in the face of pro-

vocative situation Let us remember that our fight is to achieve civil liberties for all Punjabis irrespective of their party affiliation

Tomorrow there shall be no courting of arrests but there shall be complete *hartal* of *tonga*-drivers, fruit and vegetable merchants

The Muslim League leaders have made an appeal to the Lahore Muslims to remain perfectly peaceful and calm

[1]*Dawn*, 11 February 1947

VII.43

LEAGUE DEPUTATION TO ISSUE STATEMENT ON PUNJAB SITUATION[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 10] The members of the Muslim League deputation—Mr Mohammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mr Siddiq Ali Khan—who arrived in Lahore on Friday last to study the situation arising out of the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Punjab Muslim League, left for Delhi on Sunday They are expected to issue a statement from Delhi

This evening 120 Muslims were arrested here on the charge of taking out a procession in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

A huge public meeting was held on Sunday evening outside Mochi Gate

Sixty-four Muslim League workers including Chaudhry Abdul Karim, President of the Lahore Civil Lines Muslim League, Prof Inayatullah Khan and Moulana Ibrahim Ali Chishti, who were being detained in the Lahore Borstal Jail went on hunger-strike on Sunday morning as a protest against alleged ill-treatment by the jail authorities, according to information received in the office of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League

The Punjab Government issued the communique at 6 p m on Sunday —API

[1]*Dawn*, 11 February 1947

VII.44

MARTIAL LAW LIKELY TO BE CLAMPED ON PUNJAB[1]

Student Squatters Hold Up Lahore Traffic 100 Rounds Of Tear-Gas Bombs Fired To Break Blockade Women Demonstrate In Front Of Civil Secretariat

LAHORE, [Feb 10] In view of the apparent failure of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance as is proved by the daily defiance of the measure by lakhs of Muslims throughout the province it is believed in well-informed circles in Lahore that the Punjab is likely to be placed under Martial law in the immediate future

Vehicular traffic on The Mall, Lahore came to a complete standstill for three hours on Monday when thousands of students squatted on the road and blocked traffic Five times did the police fire one hundred rounds of tear-gas bombs but failed to make any visible impression on the squatters

The Union Jack on the High Court buildings was removed and in its place flew the crescent-spangled League flag for about two hours The statue of Lawrence was decorated with League buntings and its hand holding the pen was covered with League flags

Lahore Muslims observed complete *hartal* on Monday—*tonga*-drivers, *taxiwallas*, *coolies* and railway labourers joined in the grand general strike, *Dawn* reporter went round the city and found not a single Muslim shop open Even *tundurwallas*, bakers had drawn their shutters

The strike synchronized with the funeral of the third Muslim martyr who succumbed to injuries sustained from a brick-bat thrown from a house on Beadon Road yesterday

The great resentment and fortitude with which the Lahore Muslims behaved during and after this tragic incident have evoked all round [*sic*] admiration The funeral procession, in which participated the general public, *tonga*-drivers, college students, women and children, swelled in numbers as it proceeded towards Miani Sahib where the deceased was buried

About two lakh of persons joined in the funeral prayers This procession is believed to be bigger than the one that accompanied the body of Ghazi Ilm-ud-din *Shaheed* in 1920 The processionists marched back to Mochi Gate where a huge public meeting took place Various speakers addressed the meeting and enjoined strict discipline and restraint

The C I D edition of *Voice of Islam* is circulated in thousands in the rural areas to mislead the Muslim masses with regard to the aims and objects of the movement

From Lyallpur comes the news that Mian Mohammed Abdullah, MLA (Central), Mr Aziz-ud-Din, MLA (Punjab), have been taken to Ferozepore Jail in fetters and handcuffs They had to travel by third class

In spite of the lying campaign started by the Punjab Government in their communiques about the progress of the movement, it is going from strength to strength On the 20th day of the movement neither there is boredom nor tiredness in the League ranks

The movement has captured the imagination of the sturdy Punjab peasants who are inspired for the first time with true political ideal The vast manpower of the Muslims who had been in the past exploited by selfish politicians for British imperialistic purposes, has now been awakened to its own destiny They no longer are slaves in the camp of bureaucracy They argue in this way Why Mamdot and Noon have gone to jail? Why is it that the British officials are clapping them behind the bars? They then answer, because they refuse to play the British game in the interest of Muslims This confidence in the leaders has infused enthusiasm among them for the League struggle

Reports from all over the Punjab show the tremendous upsurge among the masses against the puppet Ministry's anti-civil laws Hundreds of thousands of them every day break the law of the land

There is absolutely no danger of any kind of communal riots in the Punjab merely because the Muslims are determined to avoid them at all costs They have proved during their glorious struggle for the last 20 days and will successfully vindicate this by their conduct in future

In this way the Punjab Muslims are winning the confidence of non-Muslims as never before Mr Indra, proprietor of the Pal Dairy, during an interview, said that they have nothing to be afraid of Pakistan The Beadon Road incident which, a year hence, might have been sufficient provocation for a communal disturbance, has now been gallantly faced by the Muslims

In Lahore 80 persons courted arrest on Wednesday following a huge procession Mr Muzzafar Husain, General Secretary, City Muslim League, was arrested from his office

In Jullundur one thousand Pathans from Basti paraded the streets in defiance of the Punjab [Public] Safety Ordinance

News from Multan, Muzaffargarh, Gurgaon, Gujranwala, Dera Ghazi Khan, Lyallpur, Ferozepore, Batala, Panipat, Narowal, Hissar,

Wazirabad, Sahiwal, Nurpur Tiwana, Bhalwal, Bhera, Khushab, Naushehra, show that processions are regularly taken out daily in defiance of the ban

[1] *Dawn*, 14 February 1947

VII.49

PUNJAB LEAGUE ACTING PRESIDENT ARRESTED[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 13] Malik Shaukat Ali, Acting President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, was arrested in Lahore at midnight under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

Mr Rahmatullah, a member of the Punjab Muslim League Council, was also arrested early this morning —API

[1] *Dawn*, 14 February 1947

VII.50

ARREST OF FRONTIER PIR RESENTED[1]

PESHAWAR, [Feb 12] "Great resentment prevails in the province at the wholesale arrests of the Musalmans in the Punjab, says the Secretary of the Anjuman Chishtiya in a telegram to *Dawn*

"The two lac followers of Khwaja Hafiz Saiduddin, *Sajjada-Nashin* Taunsa Sharif, are indignant over his arrest and demand his unconditional release immediately

"In case the Pir Sahib is not released, the followers will join the struggle and court arrest in large numbers "

[1] *Dawn*, 14 February 1947

preserve communal harmony in the Punjab" says an appeal issued on behalf of the Muslim women of Lahore The appeal was approved of by the Muslim women at a mammoth meeting in Lahore on Tuesday

The appeal says "We have come to know that through its police the Khizar Ministry hurled stones on the peaceful Muslim procession which was passing through Beadon Road on Sunday and one young man lost his life But with feelings of great pride we congratulate the Muslims who faced this grave provocation with fortitude and defeated the nefarious plan of the Khizar Ministry of starting communal riots in the Punjab

"We reliably learn that Khizar Hayat has called Sardar Baldev Singh to help him in his designs We request our Hindu, Sikh and Muslim brethren to realise the gravity of the situation and not to play into the hands of the Punjab bureaucracy

"For Muslims this is an hour of trial Our fight is not against any community but against the Khizar regime which is stifling the civil liberties of the people "

[1]*Dawn*, 15 February 1947

VII.54

PUNJAB CAMPAIGN IS AN INDICATION OF WHAT LEAGUE CAN DO ON AN ALL-INDIA SCALE[1]

—LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Minister in India's Interim Government said on Thursday that the Muslim League Civil Disobedience Campaign against Punjab Provincial Ministry and its ban on meetings and processions—the first of its kind ever launched by the Muslim League—"show that our people are ready to make any sacrifice come what may "

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, who is also the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, said in an interview that the Muslim League's Punjab campaign was unplanned and unprepared although the Coalition Ministry had "harassed people who voted against it" in many ways including distribution of rationed goods

Hundreds upon hundreds of Muslims have defied the Ministry's ban for 20 consecutive days since the Muslim League National Guards was declared illegal—an order later rescinded—and seven top-ranking leaders were arrested for obstructing the police during their raid on the offices of the Muslim League National Guards

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan said that Punjab demonstrations which spread

between 4,000 and 5,000 in the entire Punjab Province Independent sources however placed the figure as high as 8,000

An APA correspondent reported from Jullundur, 80 miles south-east of Lahore, that police resorted to a mild *lathi*-charge to disperse Muslim League demonstrators They had taken out a procession consisting mainly of villagers and students They marched to a *Tehsil* building, removed the Union Jack flying over it, tore it up and installed the League flag This was later removed by the officers Two students and one teacher of the local Islamia High School were arrested

Other demonstrations were reported yesterday in Jullundur, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Ambala City, Multan and Rawalpindi, along with a number of small towns —APA

[1]*Dawn*, 17 February 1947

VII.57

PUNJAB PRESS BAN EXTENDED[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 15] The Punjab Government has extended for another 10 days the order prohibiting the newspapers in the Punjab to publish any comment (including headlines), any statement or report which is not official, any correspondence or article concerned with or bearing on the agitation against the provisions of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance without its previous submission for scrutiny to the Assistant Provincial Press Adviser, Punjab —API

[1]*Dawn*, 17 February 1947

VII.58

ONLY HONOURABLE COURSE IS TO WITHDRAW BAN[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 15] Referring to the Muslim League agitation in the Punjab, Mr Chundrigar in an interview to API said "The province-wide demonstrations which are daily being staged by the Muslims in the Punjab in defiance of the ban on meetings and processions have

VII.60

ARMY TO TAKE OVER PUNJAB TODAY[1]

Government Plan to Dump 50,000 People in Yeol Jail
Sind Leader in Lahore Discusses Reinforcement Scheme
Manki Sharif to Organise Muslim Divines For Active Participation 10 More Sikhs Court Arrest

LAHORE, [Feb 16] At 10 a m tomorrow (Monday) the police will hand over charge of the Punjab situation to the Army all over the Province, it is reliably understood

This comes as an anti-climax to the repeated Government assurances through their communiques that the Punjab situation was improving and the movement was "fizzling out"

Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi, Acting President of the Punjab League, has appealed to the Muslims to remain calm, non-violent and non-communal in the face of all provocation that is bound to be offered to them under the extraordinary circumstances

Two members of the Muslim League High Command, Mr Ghazanfar Ali and Kh Nazimuddin who are in Lahore held several meetings with local leaders There seems to be no optimism in League circles for an early settlement of the Punjab dispute

The Member for Public Health, Government of India, who was to leave Lahore for Delhi tonight postponed his departure for another day

What would have appeared as a miracle to the people a few months back is now being daily performed in Punjab as a matter of routine by hundreds of thousands of people in their defiance of the Government ban on civil liberties by holding public meetings and carrying out processions in a perfectly peaceful manner

The non-Muslims of the Punjab, may it be said to their burning [sic] credit, have refused to play into the hands of the enemies of communal peace in the province

They appreciate that the Punjab League is fighting that battle as well for the restoration of civil liberties

Ten Sikhs and 120 other persons courted arrest in Lahore on the 24th day of Punjab Civil Disobedience Movement

Earlier, a crowd that filled two adjoining plots outside the Mochi Gate listened to the leaders who exhorted them "not to be misled into believing that settlement of the present controversy was within sight"

VII.63

PUNJAB MOVEMENT IS BOUND TO SUCCEED SUHRAWARDY'S SPEECH AT DELHI STUDENTS' MEETING[1]

"The Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Punjab Muslim League is bound to succeed for it expresses the revolting spirit of the Musalmans of the Punjab against an aggressive Government," declared Mr H S Suhrawardy, the Premier of Bengal, at a mammoth public meeting held in the Urdu Park on Monday under the auspices of the Delhi Muslim Students League in observance of "Punjab Day" in Delhi Mr Mohd Rafiq, a student, was in the chair

The Students' League organised a huge procession of students which marched through all the main streets of Delhi with mock funeral of the Premier and the Governor of the Punjab All local Muslim educational institutions were closed and the Muslim girl students of the Anglo-Arabic Higher Secondary School abstained from attending their classes

"Long live the leaders of the Punjab who have upheld the banner of Islam to restore civil liberties, and long live the Muslims of the Punjab who have produced such great leaders", the Bengal Premier continued "The Muslim National Guards from all over the country are flooding the Punjab to assure their Muslim brethren that the whole sub-continent is with them in their fight for civil liberties," he went on to say

Mr Suhrawardy in the course of his speech further pointed out that the restrictions imposed by the Punjab Government were wrongly compared by certain people with Section 144 promulgated by the Bengal Government Section 144 was promulgated in Bengal, he explained, after fierce communal disturbances and furthermore it was not against a certain political or national organisation or a section of people The restrictions in Bengal applied as much to Muslims as they applied to Hindus and at least in that province there was a popular Ministry representing the largest single block of the population, he added

PUNJAB GOVERNMENT'S AIM

"On the contrary," the Bengal Premier continued, "the Punjab Ministry has been formed against the wishes of the Musalmans which is the major community in the province It cannot be gainsaid that the restrictions imposed upon civil liberties by the Punjab Government are primarily aimed at suppressing the Muslim National Organisation, the All India Muslim League"

"In no other province of the country are people held back from expressing their opinion at the time of elections But in the Punjab, Section

144 was promulgated, particularly when a Muslim League candidate was contesting the election in Dera Ghazi Khan The only excuse for imposing such restrictions which the Punjab Ministry gave was that it was in the interest of communal harmony in the province But events in the Punjab proved that since the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched by the Muslim League nowhere in India have communal riots broken out

"All this, therefore, goes to prove", the Bengal Premier observed, "that the Punjab Ministry was in the wrong That it was a lame excuse that they gave to deceive the people and hence it is incumbent upon them to admit their mistake, and retrace the wrong steps that they have taken so far There is every likelihood that if the restrictions in the Punjab are not withdrawn immediately the fire that has been kindled by the Punjab people may spread far and wide in the country "

FUTILE RESTRICTIONS

Mr Suhrawardy also pointed out that the Musalmans in rest of India were alive to the fact that the more the restrictions were imposed upon the Punjab by the Khizar Ministry the greater would be the momentum gained by the Civil Disobedience Movement "The Punjab Ministry cannot arrest the rising spirit of the Musalmans", he added, "for even the Muslim women have displayed a gallantry which is almost unprecedented in history"

Referring to Malik Khizar Hayat, the Premier of the Punjab, Mr Suhrawardy said that it was time the former admitted that he had made a blunder and that he should realise that though he might have captured a few seats in the Assembly he could not cut off his relations from the Muslim nation Every Muslim in India today looked down upon the Premier of the Punjab with contempt for his behaviour towards the Muslim National Organisations in his province, he said

In conclusion the Bengal Premier declared that he was very much pleased to find that the Sikhs in the Punjab were also fighting with the Musalmans for civil liberties He paid a glowing tribute to the spirit of tolerance and gallantry shown by the Sikhs and said that he expected them to support the Musalmans in the Punjab in forming a popular Ministry

GANDHI'S STAY IN BENGAL

Asked by the audience why was Mr Gandhi allowed to stay in Bengal so long, the Bengal Premier said that Mr Gandhi's presence in Bengal was bound to incur the displeasure of the Musalmans, but he expected that within a few days "the inner voice" of Mr Gandhi would bid him to go to Bihar and see what his own nation had done to the members of the minority community in that province Mr Suhrawardy also

VII.67

JINNAH'S LETTER TO JAILED LEAGUE LEADERS[1]
Maulana Ghaznavi As Courier

"Our demands are just and democratic No Government worth anything can turn them down I do hope the Punjab Government will make it possible for all parties to carry on their normal political activities "

This brief comment was given to a *Pakistan Times* reporter by Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi on his return to Lahore from Kasur on Monday afternoon

The Maulana who had flown to Karachi on Sunday reached Lahore at 3 p m on Monday, carrying with him a three-paged typed letter from the Quaid-i-Azam addressed to the Khan of Mamdot

He immediately left for Kasur and, at 5 p m , was admitted to the sub-jail where the members of the Committee of Action now under detention awaited him

The Maulana left the jail at 6-15 p m , and motored back to Lahore

An official of the Punjab Government will visit Kasur on Tuesday, when the League leaders are expected to inform him of their decision

According to well-informed circles, there is a 50-50 chance of a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the Government and the League which completed its 31st day on Monday

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 26 February 1947

VII.68

JINNAH OUTLINES JUST SETTLEMENT IN PUNJAB DISPUTE[1]
Only Point at Issue is Submission of Ordinance to Assembly
Government's Duty

KARACHI, Feb 24 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, who had discussions to-day with Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi, Acting President of the Punjab Muslim League, on the Punjab situation, last night outlined the scope of a settlement "honourable to both sides—the Punjab Government and the Muslim League," in an interview to the Associated Press of India

Mr Jinnah said he wanted to make it clear that the League had no

CHALLENGE TAKEN UP

The Muslim masses took up the challenge The students bestirred themselves The exigencies of the situation threw up new leadership of which the underground wing worked miracles The Muslim women joined the battle front in their thousands From high class aristocratic Muslim women down to the unsophisticated village peasant women all responded to the call of their *Millat* in a manner that formed a glorious chapter in the book of the people's struggle under difficult circumstances

The mass Civil Disobedience Movement spread to all parts of the province Peaceful processions and huge meetings in defiance of the Ordinance became the order of the day in every nook and corner of the Punjab

The authorities quickly reacted to the upsurge by resorting to *lathi*-charges, tear-gassing and even firing on orderly but resolute crowds Simla was the first to give the first martyr of the movement Gujrat, Jullundur, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Ambala and Ludhiana later were added to the honours list In Lahore a Muslim youth fell a victim to ill-conceived communal madness But all these tragic incidents failed to deflect the Punjab Muslims from the path of non-violent and non-communal struggle for winning all the people of the province their cherished civil liberties

The result was that the movement began to grow from strength to strength Never before in the history of the political Punjab did a mass movement create such impression on the popular mind as the recent League movement did The traditions of Hijrat and Khilafat Movements of 1921 were revived with this vital difference that Muslims then were fighting against the British Imperialism for the continued existence of Caliphate outside their own country, this time they were fighting against an unpopular Ministry for the people's right and privileges in their own province

FINALE

With the rising tempo of the League movement, the Government began to realise that their plans had misfired Force did not avail Oppression failed to create any visible impression on the dauntless people This left the Ministry with the only choice of winning its objective by negotiating peace with those whom they had hoped to bring down on their knees

On February 24 as a procession of over two lakh strong marched towards the Mall from Mochi Gate the officials shared with each other their anxiety to "patch up with the Leaguers" The peace negotiations,

peace has been maintained in spite of frayed tempers and numerous provocations It has been conclusively proved that the Ordinance was not of much help to the Government in maintaining order and the people managed to ensure communal peace not only without the help of the Ordinance but in direct opposition to it Both the Government and the people, therefore, could have done just as well or better if the Ordinance did not exist It should be hardly necessary to remind "a popular democratic and representative" Government that both public order and communal peace are preserved over any long period of time not through repressive legislation and *lathi-raj*, but through the will of the people and their accredited leaders The Punjab has been spared from the horrors of Bihar and Calcutta, not because of the doings of the present Ministry (the very existence of which is a standing provocation to the majority community) but because of the vigilance and restraint of the majority in the province—the Muslims The credit for maintaining communal peace goes indisputably to the Punjab Muslim League, the Muslim National Guards and the Muslim leaders of the province—the very forces which the Ministry attempted to eliminate from public life in the Punjab What the Government hoped to achieve by this folly we do not know Surely they maintain an intelligence organization which is as extensive as it is costly They feed and clothe a collection of individuals under all sorts of fancy names, in their Propaganda Headquarters Did no one acquaint them with the temper of the Muslim people in the province or did they really think that a few stuffed men with a little police "stiffening" could eliminate and entire live community? What the Khizar Ministry intended to achieve, however, is not our concern We know what they actually managed to achieve They have achieved more unpopularity and earned greater ridicule than any Provincial Ministry that we know of They have managed to give the Punjab Muslims greater confidence in themselves, greater unity, and greater loyalty to their cause than they ever had before If the way to heaven were paved with evil intentions, Sir Khizar can be assured of eternal bliss

[1]Editorial *Pakistan Times*, 28 February 1947

Muslims on preserving an atmosphere of communal harmony during the difficult days of their struggle He specially thanked the Scheduled Caste Sikhs for their active support

The citizens of Kasur presented the Khan of Mamdot with a garland of currency notes which he donated to the city's League branch

Haji Rab Nawaz Khan presided over the meeting

Later in the afternoon, a monster [sic] public meeting held outside the Mochi Gate, was addressed by several League MLAs, including Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain, who drove straight to the meeting after their release from the Lahore Central Jail

Begum Shah Nawaz, who preferred to be called Apa Jahan Ara, said, " We have won the first round in our fight for the restoration of civil liberties in the Punjab, but it is no occasion to feel self-complacent or relax our efforts The few months that are ahead are fateful months for the 100 million Muslims of India who will decide whether they will live in India as a free and proud Muslims, who have inherited the noble traditions of Islam, or as serfs of another sister-nation "

Congratulating the Muslim Punjab on its victory, Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain said, "Our fight was not on any sectarian issue Rather it was a fight on an issue that affected the fundamental liberties of Muslims and non-Muslims alike "

Major Khurshid Anwer, Chief Organiser of the All India Muslim League National Guards, appealed to the Muslim to enlist themselves as National Guards in even greater numbers

Among those present were Major Ashiq Hussain, MLA, Malik Wazir Mohammad, MLA, Mian Bashir Ahmed, MLA, Ch Mohammad Hussain, MLA, Raja Akbar, MLA, Pir Buddan Shah, MLA, Mian Allah Yar Daultana, MLA (Chief Whip of the Muslim League Assembly party), Sufi Abdul Hamid, MLA, Ch Zafar Ullah Khan, MLA, Rana Nasar Ullah Khan, MLA, Mir Mohammad Abdullah Khan, MLA, Mian Mohammad Hussain Chattha, MLA, Mian Nur Ullah, MLA, Prof Inayat Ullah, Ch Abdul Karim, Sardar Latif Afghani (Chief Officer, All India National Guards), Abu Said Anwer (Editor, *Pakistan Weekly*), Agha Mohammad Salim, ex-Inspector of Police, Ch Jalal Din (a Lahore Councillor), Begum Fatima (a Councillor), Mian Mohammad Sharif (Councillor and Honorary Magistrate), and Sardar Zafar Ullah

[1] *Pakistan Times* 28 February 1947

VII.80

ROUSING RECEPTION FOR RELEASED MUSLIM WOMEN LEADERS[1]

A tumultuous reception was accorded to Begum Shah Nawaz, MLA, Begum Tasadduque Hussain, MLA, Begum Fatima, Miss Zainab Siddiqui and other women released from jail, at a big public meeting of Muslim women in the Circular Gardens outside Town Hall, Lahore on Thursday

Begum Shah Nawaz, in the course of a forceful speech, reiterated the determination to "fight shoulder to shoulder with our men for a just and democratic settlement of the Indian problem" She said the month-old League movement in the Punjab had proved that Muslim women were capable of facing all kinds of ordeals for the sake of their cherished ideals

She paid a warm tribute to the purdah-women who cheerfully faced *lathi*-charges and tear-gas operations She condemned the "brutal and unprovoked" police firing on a mixed procession in Ambala in which two women were killed besides a large number of men She called upon the Punjab Government to institute an independent and judicial inquiry into the conduct of those who ordered the police to open fire on a peaceful procession

Begum Tasadduque Hussain and Begum Fatima also spoke

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 March 1947

VII.81

LEAGUE LEADERS SALUTE THE MUSLIMS OF THE PUNJAB[1]

LAHORE, Feb 27 The first meeting of the Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim League, after the release of its members, was held this evening at Mamdot Villa, with the Khan of Mamdot presiding

The Committee passed the following resolution on their 34-days agitation in the Punjab

"The Committee of Action of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League congratulates the Muslims of Punjab, at the magnificent and heroic manner in which, for over a month, they have continued a historic struggle against the forces of repression and darkness, and on their

"Detailed instructions in regard to this matter are being sent to all District and City Leagues People wishing to send their donations direct will please send them to the Australasia Bank, Masjid Shah Charagh, Lahore, and at the same time inform the Financial Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, Mcleod Road, Lahore"

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 2 March 1947

VII.86

LEAGUE MUST HAVE CLEAR FIELD[1]
Resignation of Punjab Ministry Follows From H M G 's Announcement

Announcing the resignation of his Government, the Premier of the Punjab said "His Majesty's Government has made it imperative that parties in the province must be brought face to face with stark realities and must come to grips direct with the problems of the country

"It is now incumbent on me to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to such arrangement, *vis-a-vis* the other parties, as it might consider best in the interests of the Muslims and the province

"If I were now to continue to lead a coalition in which the Muslim League is not represented, this might put in serious jeopardy such chances as might otherwise exist of a settlement being arrived at between the communities in the province"

FACED WITH REALITY

The Premier added "The basic fact in the situation is that the province has been suddenly confronted with the main constitutional problem, and in conformity with the policy to which I have throughout adhered, the responsibility for dealing with this problem on behalf of the Muslims must continue to vest in the Muslim majority party

"In the course of my statement issued on February 26, I said that His Majesty's Government's announcement of February 20,[2] had created an entirely new situation in which the leaders of all parties in the Punjab must decide how the province should face the future I have since given most anxious consideration to the situation with which the country is now faced and, after mature deliberation, have arrived at certain conclusions which I take this opportunity of making public

"Last year when, on the invitation of His Excellency the Governor, I took upon myself the responsibility of forming a Coalition Government, I

His Excellency the Governor, it is understood, has asked the Ministers to carry on meanwhile

Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, it is understood, will ask his Muslim followers to support the League Ministry when it is formed

After his interview with the Governor, the Khan of Mamdot said that he intimated to the Governor that he was in a position to form a Ministry and that he would submit the names of his colleagues later on, says an API report

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 4 March 1947
No I, Vol I, Part I

VII.89

QIZILBASH SUPPORTS LEAGUE STAND[1]

Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Revenue Minister in the Khizar Cabinet, has issued the following statement to the press

"I and my Muslim colleagues in the Unionist party have consistently maintained that, so far as the constitutional field and the future of the Muslims is concerned, we are in full support of the policy of the majority of the Muslims Our participation in the Coalition has never been suffered to reflect any doubt on that position It was in pursuance of this policy that I refrained from taking part in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly

"H M G 's latest announcement[2] has now suddenly confronted the province with the whole of the constitutional problem, in comparison with which provincial considerations fall into insignificance It is essential that steps must be taken immediately to prepare the province for taking over full power from H M G during the course of the next 15 months It is imperative that in the stages that lie ahead Muslims must work together so that they can make their full contribution towards the solution of the problems with which the province is now faced

"My Unionist Muslim colleagues and I are convinced that the only course open to us at this stage, which can be of real assistance not only to the Muslims but to the whole of the province, is for us to give our full support to the Muslim demand for self-determination "—API

Pakistan Times, 4 March 1947
No I Vol I Part I

VII.90

RECORD LAHORE CROWDS CELEBRATE LEAGUE'S VICTORY DAY[1]

Scheduled Caste Sikh Leaders Pledge to Fight for Pakistan

Sardar Hari Singh Nirbhay, a Scheduled Caste Sikh leader, and Chaudhury Sukh Lal, Deputy Mayor of Lahore, were among those who addressed an unprecedentedly large public meeting outside Mochi Gate, Lahore, on Sunday, in celebration of the Muslim League Victory Day The Khan of Mamdot presided

Sardar Hari Singh, amidst shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar, Sat Siri Akal*, declared that 20 lakh of *Mazhabi* Sikhs would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Muslims for the attainment of Pakistan

Chaudhury Sukh Lal said that *Akhand* Hindustan would prove a graveyard of the minorities, particularly the Untouchables He assured the League leaders of every support in their struggle for the attainment of Pakistan

Mian Iftikharuddin, in a forceful speech, repeated his challenge— originally delivered at Amritsar on Friday—that the Punjab Premier should resign, along with his Unionist colleagues, and let the voters decide the League-Unionist controversy Failing that, the Premier and his two Muslim colleagues in the Cabinet should resign, or, as a third alternative, the Governor should dissolve the Assembly and order fresh elections

"Failing all this," the Mian declared "We shall be left with no alternative but to launch another struggle "

Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Health Member, Government of India, said that the Punjab Muslims were now wide awake, disciplined and ready for action As far as the Muslims were concerned, they would like the British to quit in June 1947 rather than in June 1948

Malik Firoz Khan Noon said that the present League struggle had conclusively proved what the Muslims could do if faced with a national crisis It would be impossible for anybody in the world to force a constitution on the Muslims against their will He paid a warm tribute to the Muslim women of the Punjab for the heroic struggle which they waged, side by side with their menfolk

Begum Shah Nawaz declared that the minorities in the Punjab need have no fear of the Muslims

She said "Our history, our religion and our traditions are the surest guarantee for the protection of the cultural, religious and political rights of the minorities "

VII.93

LEAGUE'S VICTORY IN PUNJAB ENCOURAGES STRUGGLE IN FRONTIER[1]

PESHAWAR, March 4 Reports of processions, demonstrations and meetings arranged by the Muslim League, together with the arrests of League leaders and workers, are coming from all over the province

In Peshawar, League volunteers have started picketing the District Courts They hoisted the League flag on the District Magistrate's Court amid League slogans Twenty picketers were arrested

The picketing of courts in Kohat continues, and 53 arrests are reported to have been made

It is learned in Muslim League circles that the resignation of the Punjab Ministry has given a great impetus to the movement in the Frontier, and that the Muslim League will redouble its efforts to dislodge the Frontier Congress Ministry or else force the Khan brothers to join the Muslim League

A Lahore message says that a big meeting of the Muslim students of the Punjab was held there yesterday, and passed the following resolution

"The meeting records its strong abhorrence of the repressive policy of the Frontier Ministry, and congratulates the Frontier Muslim League on its fight for the restoration of civil liberties

"The meeting assures the Frontier Muslims of the whole-hearted support of the Punjab Muslim students "—OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 5 March 1947

VII.94

11 HOUR CURFEW IN LAHORE[1]

League Peace Efforts in the City

Within a week of the conclusion of the Muslim League's non-violent and non-communal struggle for the restoration of civil liberties in the Punjab, a new chapter of communal violence opened in Lahore on Tuesday—at a cost of nine dead and 70 injured

Several times during the course of the day, the police had to open fire on demonstrations staged by the so-called "anti-League Front," brought

According to another report, he addressed a public meeting near the village of Matanni, on the Kohat Road, this morning

Mr Sher Bahadur Khan, General Secretary, Peshawar District League, in a rejoinder to the communique issued by the Frontier Government charging Muslim demonstrators in a recent procession here with unruly conduct says "Investigations made by the League office indicate that a large number of Red Shirts had been told to accompany the procession in plain clothes, to act as agents provocateurs and sully the good name of the Muslim organisation by their unruly conduct

"I appeal to the public to keep an eye on such miscreants in future"—API and OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 26 February 1947

VIII.8

THREE SCHOOL BOYS INJURED WHEN POLICE CHARGED LEAGUE PROCESSION IN PESHAWAR[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 25 The police resorted to a *lathi*-charge here today, to disperse a procession of students which was taken out in defiance of the Government ban Three boys and a Police Constable were injured

A number of students from the local schools organised a procession this morning, which started from the Islamia High School, and winding its way through the Qissakhwani Bazaar, reached the Government High School The procession, which had by this time increased in size, marched towards the Mission High School On the way, the police resorted to a *lathi*-charge, resulting in injuries to three boys and one Constable, all of whom were removed to the police station

On the persistent demand of the students, the police returned the three injured boys, who were later carried in procession on *charpais* upto Chowk Yadgar, amidst vociferous Muslim League slogans Most of the shops were closed, for fear of trouble

Twelve people, including nine volunteers of the Muslim National Guards, were arrested in Mardan today, for leading a procession in defiance of the Government ban

The procession, which went out this morning, was dispersed by the police after it had marched a few furlongs

VIII.10

SETTLEMENT BETWEEN N W F P LEAGUE AND GOVERNMENT LIKELY[1]

Lathi-Charges Continuing Unabated
Three League MLAs Among the Arrested

PESHAWAR, Feb 26 A settlement between the Frontier Government and the Provincial Muslim League is likely, following a conference of the Frontier Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Member for Communications in the Government of India, and Premier, Dr Khan Sahib, at Government House, this afternoon

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar told the waiting Pressmen "We discussed the terms for a friendly settlement "

Earlier, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, and [Nawab] Muhammad Ismail Khan, President of the League Committee of Action, met a number of Muslim League leaders in the Peshawar Central Prison They also had a meeting with Pir of Manki Sharif, a prominent Frontier League leader

In the meanwhile, arrests and *lathi*-charges were continuing all over the Frontier

Three Muslim League MLAs, including the ex-Speaker of the Frontier Assembly, Sardar Bahadur Khan, were among the 35 persons arrested at Mansehra and Abbottabad last night, under the Frontier Crimes Regulations The other two MLAs arrested are Khan Jalaluddin Khan and Captain Zain Mohd Khan

The police took into custody 29 Muslims today, for leading a procession in Peshawar City The procession which paraded the important centres of the City was later dispersed by the police

PROCESSION *LATHI*-CHARGED

According to reports received here, a small procession carrying mock funeral of the Frontier Premier was taken out in Hangu in Kohat District

A second procession by Muslim League workers was taken out in Peshawar City this evening The procession was dispersed by the police and some persons were put under arrest

In Abbottabad, a procession was dispersed by the police with a *lathi*-charge today About 21 persons, including Sultan Hasar Ali Khan of Boi, were arrested

Fourteen Muslim League National Guards were detained in Kabuli Gate Police Station

VIII.15

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES NOW IN FULL SWING ALL OVER FRONTIER PROVINCE[1]

PESHAWAR, March 1 The Muslim League's fight for civil liberties is now in full swing in most districts of the Frontier Province, including Peshawar, Mardan, Hazara, Kohat, Bannu, Abbottabad and D I Khan

In Peshawar, two processions were taken out today Thirty-five uniformed National Guards were arrested at the Kabuli Gate and 16 more at the Jail Gate

In Mardan, a procession marched through the main streets of the City in a disciplined manner Fifteen arrests were made

In Hazara, 142 arrests were made during the last few days, and those arrested for leading the processions were convicted to three months R I [Rigorous Imprisonment] each, in summary trials In addition, 250 temporary arrests have been made

PIR MANKI'S ADDRESS

After addressing 24 public meetings in the District of Peshawar, the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif rushed to Bannu where he is now touring extensively

The Secretary of the Bannu League reports that a huge procession of Muslims, led by 2,000 uniformed Muslim National Guards, marched through the city amidst vociferous League slogans Later a public meeting was held under the presidentship of the Pir of Manki Sharif attended by over 15,000 Muslims

The Pir Sahib explained the position of the Muslims in detail, in view of the latest British Government announcement[2] He said that if the traitors did not give up the part they were playing, or if the nation did not get rid of them, the future prospects of Muslims in India would be gloomy indeed He appealed to non-League Muslims to think of the interest of the *Millat*

Earlier, the Pir stressed the importance of their present struggle for civil liberties and the stand taken by the Provincial Muslim League He condemned the Frontier Congress Government for pursuing a policy dictated by the Hindu Congress from Delhi

A procession of schoolboys went out this morning in Peshawar No arrests were made

All those arrested in Peshawar yesterday were set free last night after being taken to distant places by the police They were brought back by the City League lorries to the League office

VIII.16

MALAKAND POLITICAL AGENT'S SUSPENSION H M G INQUIRE[1]

LONDON, March 3 Mr Arthur Henderson, Under Secretary for India, said in the House of Commons today that he was asking the Government of India for the reasons for the suspension of Khan Bahadur Nawab Sheikh Mahbub Ali Khan, Political Agent in Malakand, N W F P , India

He was replying to a question by Brig Low (Cons), who asked if Mr Henderson did not think he should have this information by now because the suspension took place some time ago

Mr Henderson replied "No official information had reached in regard to this particular officer, prior to the question being placed on the order paper Following that, communication has been sent to the Government of India asking for a report "

Lt Col Sir Walter Smiles (Cons), asked what was the estimated number of men, women and children killed in communal riots in India during 1946

Mr Henderson replied "The best available estimate of persons killed in communal riots during 1946 is 12,400 This figure is admittedly only approximate and separate figures for men, women and children are not available" —Reuter

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 5 March 1947

VIII.17

41 MUSLIMS ARRESTED IN D I KHAN[1]

D I KHAN, March 4 On the third day of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Dera Ismail Khan, a procession of about 20,000 Muslims led by Nawabzada Mohd Zulfiqar Ali, paraded through the bazaars Near the Post Office, a batch of 41 Muslims led by Mohd Rustam Khan, Advocate, was arrested

Later, a large meeting of Muslims was addressed by Nawabzada Mohd Zulfiqar and others The speeches condemned the anti-Muslim policy of Dr Khan Sahib, the Premier, and later on a mock funeral of the Premier was taken out

So far 61 persons have been arrested in D I Khan

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 5 March 1947

VIII.18

FRONTIER LEAGUE CALLS FOR *HARTAL* ON MONDAY[1]

PESHAWAR, March 8 The Provincial Muslim League War Council has decided to observe complete *hartal* throughout the Frontier Province on March 10, to protest against the continued suppression of the civil liberties of the people by the Congress Ministry

Announcing this, Mr Sher Bahadur Khan, Secretary of the War Council, Provincial Muslim League, has appealed to the Frontier Muslims to observe this day by a complete cessation of all activities, and by arranging processions and holding mass meetings

It is imperative, he said, that all demonstrations on this day should be non-communal and peaceful —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 9 March 1947

VIII.19

2,500 MUSLIMS ARRESTED TO DATE IN LEAGUE'S CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN N W F PROVINCE[1]

PESHAWAR, March 8 The Civil Disobedience Movement in the Frontier Province continues unabated, with reports of processions, demonstrations and meetings, together with arrests, coming from the remotest parts of the Province

In defiance of Section 144, the Peshawar City Muslim League took out a huge procession after the *Juma* prayers After overcoming all police obstacles, it marched through the main streets of the town, shouting League slogans Twenty-three Muslim National Guards were arrested

A procession of 15,000 people, with 1,000 National Guards, was taken out at Bannu

After the procession, a meeting was held, which was addressed by the local League leaders They condemned the high-handedness of the Congress Ministry, and exhorted the audience to be prepared for the coming struggle

A mammoth meeting of Marwat, Wazir and Bhittani tribes was held at Surdag, District Bannu, near the border-line, under the presidentship of Nawabzada Sher Afzal Khan

was intensified this morning, when a procession of nearly 15,000 people, mostly from Mitkhel, paraded the streets and the bazaars of the city The procession stopped at a liquor shop and offered themselves for arrest

Only 100 arrests were made, prominent among them being Risaldar Khan, K B Sher Jan Khan, Nawabzada Sher Afzal Khan, Pir Mirakber Shah and Pir Chinar Shah

Pir Feroz Shah has issued orders that the Movement must remain non-communal and non-violent

In a meeting at Torka, Dr Nasrullah Jan, Habibullah Khan and Nawabzada Faiz Dil Khan exhorted the people to maintain peace and order

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 14 March 1947

VIII.26

ABDUL QAIYUM SENTENCED TO 3 MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT[1]

PESHAWAR, March 14 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Opposition Leader, Frontier Assembly, Khan Mohd Samin Jan Khan and Mohd Ali Khan, President and Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, respectively, and 48 other Muslim League workers of Mardan were sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment each under Section 188 Cr P C yesterday

Twenty-three persons including Khan Mohd Ayub Khan, *Salar*, Provincial Muslim National Guards were sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment Two minors were admonished and let off —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 15 March 1947

VIII.27

KHAN SAHIB CHALLENGED TO RESIGN AND STAND AGAIN[1]

PESHAWAR, March 18 Referring to the recent statement by Dr Khan Sahib that the majority of the Pathans were with him, Nawab Qutub-ud-Din, MLA, Deputy Leader, Muslim League Assembly Party, in an interview said, "I challenge Dr Khan Sahib to choose one Muslim

On the other hand, it is reported that the Muslim League MLAs are pressing the Frontier Governor to dissolve the present Assembly and hold new elections so that the world should know that the Pathans are against the Congress —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 20 March 1947

VIII.30

N W F P MINISTER ON LEAGUE AGITATION[1]

PESHAWAR, March 17 "The Frontier Province will be always with the Congress," Qazi Atta Ullah Khan, Frontier Revenue Minister, said in an interview today

"We gave the Muslim League full liberty of speech and action till their followers actually looted shops and assaulted Hindus in Mardan," said the Revenue Minister

Replying to a question whether the allegation that the trouble in the Frontier is economic and not communal, he said, "This is absolutely false The trouble in the Frontier is communal "

Qazi Atta Ullah Khan reiterated his firm belief that N W F P will always remain with the Congress —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 20 March 1947

VIII.31

MUSLIM WOMAN LEADS PROCESSION IN PESHAWAR[1]

PESHAWAR, March 19 There were no processions, public meetings in Abbottabad yesterday owing to rain, which confined people indoors, according to reports received here Muslim Leaguers, however, picketed courts

In Mansehra (Hazara District), Leaguers picketed courts yesterday and hoisted the Muslim League flag on the Government Treasury A large procession was organised in Havelian (Hazara District) yesterday

In Mardan the Leaguers picketed the basic education school for

been appointed Special Magistrate by the Provincial Government to hold enquiry into the recent communal riots in Mansehra commenced examining witnesses in camera yesterday Major Sajjad Ahmed, an advocate with Peer Zamanshah, represented the Muslim community Mr J A Narrol, pleader, appeared for the Hindus and Sikhs The enquiry is expected to last for a week

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.48

RED SHIRTS WITHDRAWN FROM KOHAT[1]
Peace Mission Fails

PESHAWAR, March 31 All the Red Shirts in Kohat, have been withdrawn from the town following a clash with the Green Shirts, it is learnt today The Red Shirts who "raided" the town to restore confidence among the two communities have failed in their experiment

Dr Khan Sahib, the Frontier Premier, who visited Kohat this weekend to straighten up things there, was greeted by a huge crowd outside the city shouting slogans of "Resign from Ministry"

The Red Shirts' presence whose activities in Kohat have increased the communal tension in this area, brought serious clashes at many places

On Thursday, a party of Red Shirts clashed with a League procession shouting anti-Ministry slogans in village Chakarkot on the outskirts of Kohat Cantt and is reported to have torn the League flag into pieces and attacked the processionists

The villagers rushed to the spot and a clash followed in which two Red Shirts were injured The Deputy Commissioner reached the spot and brought the situation under control

At village Tappi, another party of Red Shirts heading for Kohat is reported to have fired from the lorry roof on a League procession injuring three persons

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

Following the arrest of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, the Pathans generally and his followers particularly have been deeply agitated On Sunday a colourful procession of several thousand strong drawn from the spiritual followers of the Pir Sahib paraded the main streets of Peshawar City, in defiance of the Government ban on processions As the procession passed through Kabuli Gate, the police threw a cordon around them On their refusal to disperse, 160 persons amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, were arrested The procession then quietly dispersed

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.52

GOVERNOR DISCUSSES FRONTIER PROBLEM WITH MINISTRY, RISING UNREST AMONG PATHANS[1]

Five Lakhs Spent Daily To Keep Order

D I KHAN, March 30 At a Cabinet meeting which took place in Peshawar two days back, the Frontier Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, is reported to have discussed with the Premier the advisability of Congress Ministry's resignation in view of rising unrest and discontent among the Pathans It is stated that the present League Civil Disobedience [Movement] is causing the Government an expenditure of Rs 5 lakhs a day for maintaining law and order

Nawab Qutub-ud-Din, MLA, Deputy Leader of the Frontier Assembly Party, addressing a huge gathering of Pathans at Marwat, called upon the Frontier Governor to realise that the only solution to the existing problem was dismissal of the present corrupt Ministry and to assume to himself all powers of law and order under Section 93, which must be followed by general elections

Nawab Qutub-ud-Din, MLA, has started an extensive tour of Bannu and D I Khan Districts Addressing public meetings of stalwart Pathans at Kulachi, Tank, Tajori, Aman Khel, Maula Zai, the Nawab asked the Pathans to get ready for the final struggle for the attainment of complete independence in their homeland He said the present League Movement was started to restore to the Pathans their inherent right to carry on their normal civic and political activities without any hindrance from an oppressive and unrepresentative Government The Pathans all along promised unstinted co-operation in the League's present anti-Congress Ministry struggle

VIII.56

18 HAZARA LEAGUERS SENTENCED[1]

ABBOTTABAD, April 1 Mohammad Jalaluddin, President and Ghulam Hussain, Secretary of the District Muslim League, Hazara, Abdul Rasheed Riani, Propaganda Secretary, Maulana Mohammed Ishaq Khateeb, Abdullah Khan, Ghulam Haider, Ahmed Din and eleven other Leaguers were convicted today by the District Magistrate of Hazara under Section 40 Cr P C in connection with the Muslim League agitation and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.57

5,000 TRIBESMEN ADVISE DR KHAN SAHIB TO RESIGN[1]

BANNU, April 1 A meeting of Janikhel and Batakhel tribes of Waziristan was held here yesterday which was attended by 5,000 armed tribesmen, including the generals of the Faqir of Ipi

The tribesmen declared that their cherished goal was Pakistan for which they would fight to the last

A resolution was unanimously passed supporting the Muslim League demand of Pakistan and advising Dr Khan Sahib to resign by the 10th of this month and end the Hindu *Raj*, if peace was desired in the Province

A procession of 20,000 people was taken out which picketed a liquor shop One hundred and fifty arrests were made

Later at a public meeting, Abdur Rahim Khan condemned the arrest of the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif and the repressive policy of the N W F P Government towards the Muslim League —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.58

GREAT PROCESSION TAKEN OUT IN D I KHAN[1]

D I KHAN, April 1 A grand procession was taken out here yesterday

VIII.61

LAHORE MUSLIM WOMEN TAKE PART IN FRONTIER MOVEMENT[1]

Lahore Muslim women gave a lead to their menfolk during the weekend when a batch of four of them left Lahore for Peshawar to participate in the Pathan struggle for restoration of civil liberties They included Begum Fatima, Miss Nasira Siddiqui, Begum Zubeida Shah and Begum Karim Dad News of their safe arrival in Peshawar has been received here

This batch of women will be followed by others The Punjab Muslim League Women's Committee, which has sponsored the present move to help actively our Pathan brethren, hopes to send *jathas* of Muslim women regularly

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.62

67 LEAGUE WORKERS SENTENCED[1]

ABBOTTABAD, April 2 Sheikh Mohd Jalaluddin, President, District Muslim League, Hazara, Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan, MLA and a Member of the Constituent Assembly, Mr Sultan Hassan Ali Khan, Khan Mohd Farid Khan, MLA, Capt Zain Mohd Khan, MLA, Maulana Mohd Ishaque, *Khateeb, Juma Masjid*, Mian Ghulam Hussain, General Secretary, District League and 60 other League workers were sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment each under Section 40 F C R by Major S T John, Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, yesterday

Three big processions were taken out here yesterday and the picketing of the court also continued Twenty-four volunteers including Mr Walayat Khan, *Salar*, Red Shirt, Mirpur, who recently joined the League along with his 7 colleagues, were arrested but later released A number of persons volunteered themselves to be arrested but no arrests were made —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 3 April 1947

VIII.63

NAWAB OF TANK CHALLENGES DR KHAN[1]

D I KHAN, April 2 Addressing a largely attended meeting of the Pathans at Lakki Marwat, Nawab Qutub-ud-Din of Tank, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, challenged the Frontier Premier, Dr Khan Sahib to choose any one of the 39 Muslim seats to measure his strength with the Muslim League on the issue of Pakistan He said "I am confident that Dr Khan Sahib will lose his security, if he comes into an open contest with the Muslim League from any constituency "

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 3 April 1947

VIII.64

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN KOHAT BREAK DOORS OF BARRACKS[1]

PESHAWAR, April 1 The N W F P Government issued the following communique last night "In Kohat this morning about 59 under trial political prisoners broke the doors of their barracks and came out in the jail compound and began to damage jail property The prisoners were relocked in their barracks

"Cases of incendiarism also occurred in Kohat City today Some shops were burnt and ten looted The Superintendent of Police was assaulted by a Muslim League worker near the jail gate Detachments of police and troops are patrolling the town A curfew has been imposed for one week from 7 p m to 6 a m and all public meetings and processions have been banned

"At Peshawar Jail this morning some of the political prisoners set fire to three tents and assaulted two convict warders who received injuries Curfew in Peshawar City has been extended for one week

"Two live bombs were discovered today near Akora on the main railway line from Peshawar The down Frontier Mail was consequently delayed Last night ten bundles of luggage of Hindu passengers at Nowshera Railway Station were set on fire A railway *chowkidar* is reported to have fired two shots but the culprits managed to escape "—API

[1]*Pakistan Times* 3 April 1947

Congress meeting was attended by 40 Hindus only, and a few Muslims who were present only heckled the Congress speakers

The Muslims were greatly agitated at the attempts of the Congressites to force a meeting on them, but they were pacified by League leaders A Muslim League deputation with Makhdum Abdul Sattar Shah is touring the villages at various places They were offered the fullest support of the villagers for the Muslim League cause

STUDENTS' SUPPORT

The students are giving the fullest support to the League Movement and representatives of the Muslim Students Federation, along with the Muslim League National Guards, lead the daily peaceful procession A meeting of the students was held and the arrest of Mr Ahmad Din was condemned

LEAGUE LEADERS TREATED BADLY

It is learnt that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, Mohammad Ali Khan, Secretary of the Muslim League, Khan Ghulam Mohammad Khan, Khan Mohammad Ayyub Khan, *Salar* of the Frontier National Guards, and Khan Mohammad Akbar Khan were treated very badly when brought by a police party from the Peshawar Jail to the Dera Ismail Khan Jail

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 April 1947

VIII.72

LEAGUE PRISONERS IN PESHAWAR JAIL RESUME HUNGER-STRIKE[1]

PESHAWAR, April 3 Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Mian Musharraf Shah, Khan Bakht Jamal Khan, Khan Nasrullah Jan, Khan Ibrahim Khan of Jhaggra and 70 others League prisoners now detained in Peshawar Jail have been on hunger-strike from April 1 in protest against the continued bad treatment by the Frontier Government

It will be recalled that the first hunger-strike was given up when the Government accepted the demands of the hunger-strikers The "acceptance" of their demands however, has led to no change in the actual treatment of the prisoners The hunger-strike therefore has been resumed It is reliably learnt that Abdul Ghafoor Khan is in a serious state He has become very weak and is spitting blood

Mr Abdul Hameed, a senior teacher in the Islamia High School, under Section 36 F C R and will extern him from the Frontier Province, it is learnt

Mr. Hameed belongs to the Punjab and has been serving in this school for last 12 years

The premises of this school were forcibly taken possession of by the Government for the accommodation of the Red Shirts against which the Council of Management took serious objection The Council passed a resolution condemning this act of the Government as a criminal house trespass Mr Hameed is said to have taken a leading part against this action of the Government —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 8 April 1947

VIII.76

MAHSUD TRIBESMEN PROTEST PIR OF MANKI'S ARREST[1]

PESHAWAR, April 6 A *Jirga* of Mahsuds held at Tank in Dera Ismail Khan District yesterday passed a resolution protesting against the arrest of Pir of Manki Sharif, and supporting the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan

The *Jirga* which was attended by the Pir of Wana Hafta Khan, Mir Badshah and Shah Pasand, decided that two men from every tribe should visit all Agencies and fix a date for the holding of a combined *Jirga* of all tribes to decide the future policy of the tribesmen in view of the injustice being done to Indian Muslims —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 8 April 1947

VIII.77

NATIONAL GUARDS READY TO GO TO FRONTIER[1]

Syed Amir Hussain Shah, *Salar-e-Ala*, Muslim League National Guards, in a statement says that the National Guards of the Punjab are ready to go to the help of their brothers in the Frontier Province at a moment's notice

"The Punjab", he said, "has watched with growing concern the

Muslim League's peaceful and non-violent Movement in the Frontier The League is fighting a regime which has lost the confidence of the people through its nepotism, inefficiency and political chicanery The struggle for civil liberties in the Frontier is really a struggle for the freedom of the Pathans "

"They have our fullest sympathy, and at a word from the Frontier League, thousands of young Punjabis will march to their help "

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 9 April 1947

VIII.78

FOUR PUNJAB MUSLIM WOMEN DODGE POLICE TO AID LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN FRONTIER[1]

One of the four Muslim women who recently journeyed to Peshawar on behalf of the Punjab Muslim League Women's Committee in connection with the Frontier League Movement, has just returned to Lahore after dodging the Frontier Police hounds and escaping arrest, by a hair's breadth

Miss Nasira Siddiqui, who was in jail for over a month during the Punjab League Movement, told a *Pakistan Times* reporter that on reaching Peshawar, they discovered that they were wanted by the police

"But heavy *burqas* and heavy Peshawari *chappals*," she said, "came to our rescue Wearing them, we felt safe, and we quickly settled down to organising women's processions and meetings "

This, she continued, led to feverish activity on the police front, and informers began following every *burqa*-clad woman to her home

One day, the police succeeded in locating their residence, but while a detachment was on its way to raid the house, their hostess quickly dressed them in typical Pathan robes and shrouding them in old-fashioned *burqas*, took them to a house in another lane On the way, they passed the constables armed with warrants for their arrest, bound for the original house

"This," said Miss Siddiqui, "happened on several occasions, but each time we successfully dodged the police, who failed to arrest us "

Miss Siddiqui declined to disclose her future plans Her three companions are still in the Frontier Province

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 9 April 1947

VIII.82

FIFTIETH DAY OF FRONTIER LEAGUE MOVEMENT[1]
More Demonstrations Speaker Urged Not to Play Traitor

PESHAWAR, April 12 Pathans celebrated the 50th day of the League Movement in the N W F P with great fervour yesterday Courts were picketed in Haripur, Swabi, Mansehra and at several places Muslim volunteers also picketed the Police Station of Garhi Habibullah

In Mardan Muslims picketed the courts and office of the P W D A procession was organised in Kohat which was dispersed by the police with a *lathi*-charge Some people were injured

The League procession in D I Khan today was led by Mr Abdul Aziz Khan, *Salar*, Muslim National Guards The procession, after passing the jail held a demonstration at the residence of the Frontier Speaker, and called upon him not to play the traitor to the Pathans About 20 persons were arrested

A public meeting followed at Maidan Hafiz Jamal Khan, where Syed Mohammad Ali Shah and Haji Ramzan Khan told the audience how completely unsuccessful the propaganda tour of the Frontier Speaker had been Sardar Allah Nawaz Khan of the Punjab Muslim League promised all help to the Pathans on behalf of the Punjab Muslims

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 April 1947

VIII.83

FRONTIER SPEAKER ADDRESSES MEETING IN *MANDIR*[1]

Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan, Frontier Speaker, organised a Congress meeting in a *mandir* in a Hindu *mohalla* He addressed his Hindu and Sikh audience and suggested that Red Shirts should be got from outside districts His offer, however, was not accepted

Nawab Qutub-ud-Din of Tank continued his whirlwind tour of the villages taking the message of the Muslim League to the remotest hamlets Everywhere he was warmly welcomed, large numbers of villagers promising all help to the League's struggle for civil liberties

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 April 1947

She said that all the jails in the Frontier Province were packed to capacity with Muslim League volunteers, and temporary huts were being built to accommodate the in-flowing stream

Begum Fatima also addressed the students of the Islamia College, Peshawar, and exhorted them to quit their books for the present, and actively join the struggle for Pakistan by touring the countryside and educating the Muslim masses on the present crucial issues —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 15 April 1947

VIII.88

KOHAT WOMEN BREAK THROUGH MILITARY CORDON 36 ARRESTED[1]

KOHAT, April 16 The Muslim League agitation continues unabated The District Courts were again picketed by the League volunteers today, and had to be closed A women's procession starting from the city paraded the main bazaars of the town Thirty-six volunteers were arrested including four students from Islamia College

At several places the women's procession broke through the military cordon Great resentment was caused in the city on account of the Hindu and Sikh officials, alleged rough-handling of the women processionists The intervention of the League leaders, however, saved the situation from becoming ugly

In the evening, a crowded meeting was held in the Municipal gardens in defiance of Section 144, where speeches condemning Khan Sahib's policy of repression and explaining the importance of the League struggle for civil liberties were delivered

Many processions were also taken out during the day Students took out a mock funeral of the Congress Government

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 17 April 1947

VIII.89

TRIBAL *JIRGA* DEMANDS PIR OF MANKI'S RELEASE[1]

PESHAWAR, *April 15* A resolution demanding the immediate release

of Pir of Manki Sharif was passed at a joint *jirga* of South Waziristan and Kurram Agencies, a few days ago

The resolution said "We deeply regret that the Frontier Governor should have allowed this arrest, knowing that it would provoke tribesmen We urge the Governor-General-in-Council as well as the Frontier Governor to release him forthwith In case he is not released, the Government will be responsible for the consequences"

By another resolution the *jirga* demanded the resignation of the Khan Ministry and warned the Government that the Patel Committee's visit to the Tribal Area might have serious results The *jirga* also reiterated its full faith in Pakistan and the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 17 April 1947

VIII.90

PIR OF MANKI SHARIF'S BROTHER ARRESTED[1]

Dramatic Hold-up By Frontier Premier Dr Khan Flees Despite Army Escort When 50,000 Tribesmen Arrive

PESHAWAR, April 16 The younger brother of the Pir of Manki Sharif was arrested yesterday after a dramatic hold-up by Dr Khan Sahib, Frontier Premier, near the Radio Station

The younger Pir Sahib, who was returning after presiding over a meeting of Muslims held at Tahkal Bala, was suddenly stopped by the Frontier Premier who had a strong army escort of Gurkha and British companies The Premier, it is reported, ordered the Pir Sahib and his companion, Maulvi Shakir Ullah, to get out of the car and at the point of pistol had the car searched Nothing incriminating, however, was found Immediately, the Premier had the two arrested

Soon afterwards, Malik Taj Mohammad, a prominent citizen of the city reached the spot He was also subjected to the search and put under arrest.

The son of Arbab Abdul Ghafoor, with his brother, also reached the spot, and were arrested

Events took a dramatic turn when a procession of nearly 50,000 tribal Pathans of the Khalil Mohmand tribes appeared on the scene Khan Sahib, apprehending danger, fled with his escort

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 17 April 1947

bluff and bluster Dr Khan's repeated assertions in most unbecoming language that he has Pathan support, can be ignored, as it is obvious that it is a case of a lady protesting too much

The figures, however, given by Qazi Atta Ullah, Minister for Jails must be contradicted His assertions that there are only 4,000 League prisoners is false It is an admitted fact that there are well over 6,000 political prisoners arrested in the League agitation in the Frontier Jails today Let me remind Qazi Sahib also of the 40,000 Leaguers arrested by the Frontier Government who were later released, and of the 3 lakhs of people who have defied the various black laws including curfew orders, whom the Frontier Government did not dare to arrest I would like to remind the Qazi and Dr Khan that the total number of arrests during the Red Shirts' agitation in 1932 was 7,442 out of which over three thousand secured their release by apologising to a "foreign bureaucracy" If the Khanna-Khan Ministry is as sure and confident as they claim to be, let them arrest and imprison every person who openly breaks the law Will Dr Khan accept this challenge? The League is certain that thousands of freedom-loving Pathans will be at the jail gates every day Let Dr Khan and his tutor Mehr Chand Khanna speak

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 18 April 1947

VIII.95

MARWATS POURING IN TO COURT IMPRISONMENT[1]

BANNU, April 17 Mr Sarfraz Khan Khattak, "Dictator" Muslim League, along with Messrs Gulab Khan, Muzaffar Khan and Sher Mohammed Khan, were arrested last night from their houses

Several processions were taken out here yesterday and courts strongly picketed The police arrested 50 volunteers

In the evening a big meeting was held in which the Congress policy was condemned

Following the arrest of their leader Khan Saifullah Khan, Chief of Ghaznikhel, lorry-loads of Marwats from distances of 50 miles are pouring into the city to court arrest

Khan Abdur Rahim Khan, Advocate, Khan Abdul Sattar Khan and Khan Faizullah Khan, ex-MLA, are touring the Marwat territory to prepare them for the final struggle of achieving Pakistan —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 18 April 1947

Hindu-dominated Congress Ministry had been numbered and it was only a matter of days when the Province would get rid of the present regime

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 26 April 1947

VIII.107

FRONTIER WOMEN REJECT CONGRESS OFFER[1]

Mr Jinnah's appeal to the Muslims of the Province to maintain law and order was received by the Pathans with the respect it deserves

Giving an overall picture of the League Movement in the Frontier Province, *Pakistan Times'* special correspondent wires, "The League Civil Disobedience Movement is going from strength to strength "

In Peshawar City, a huge procession started from the City Muslim League office and marching through the main streets of the city terminated near the Buckingham Park Thirty National Guards were arrested in defiance of Section 144

Processions were taken out in Nowshera, Kohat and Mardan where 15 and 6 volunteers were arrested respectively At Mardan police resorted to severe *lathi*-charge In Peshawar, in the morning 45 Muslim National Guards were arrested for picketing the courts

The picketing of District and Sessions Courts in Peshawar lasted three hours, during which time court work came to a complete standstill

CONGRESS OFFER AN INSULT

At a meeting of the Women's Sub-Committee of the N W F P Muslim League a resolution rejecting the Congress Government's "peace offer" was unanimously adopted The resolution described as an "insult" the Government offer to release the League prisoners without giving a solemn undertaking for the dissolution of the present Assembly

Through another resolution the Muslim women expressed their determination to make every sacrifice for the achievement of their demand and to stand shoulder to shoulder with their brethren and fight for the emancipation of Pathans from the clutches of the Hindu Congress

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 26 April 1947

The Muslim League volunteers at Mardan picketed the courts yesterday and completely paralysed the work No arrest was made

At Peshawar the police used tear-gas and resorted to *lathi*-charge many times to disperse a procession which was taken out there

A huge procession of Muslim women was also taken out and paraded the city shouting League slogans —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 2 May 1947

[2] The Provincial ML had demanded settlement of the dispute of the convert girl, withdrawal of Hazara Public Safety Ordinance, 144 Cr P C and actions under the F C R and refund of fines The Provincial Government released the political prisoners unconditionally See Annexure to Enclosure to No 376, Vol I, Part I and *Pakistan Times*, 20 April 1947

VIII.113

FRESH ELECTIONS IN FRONTIER DEMANDED[1]

HARIPUR, April 30 A largely attended meeting of the representatives of all the important villages in Hazara Tehsil was held recently in the public park, Haripur A resolution demanding the immediate dismissal of the Khanna-Khan Ministry and accusing them of misrule, maladministration, jobbery and inefficiency, and of trampling on the civil liberties of the people was passed

The meeting further indicted the Frontier Government for its inability to protect the minorities The resolution further requested the Frontier Governor to remove the present Ministry and order general elections as soon as possible

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 2 May 1947

VIII.114

PAROLED FRONTIER LEAGUERS FLY TO DELHI[1]

Five-Man Delegation Will See Quaid-i-Azam Today

NEW DELHI, May 2 A Muslim League deputation from the North-West Frontier Province arrived in New Delhi by air this evening from Peshawar

Begum Tasadduque, during her stay in Peshawar, had interviewed the Governor of the Frontier Province, with the President and Secretary of the Frontier League Women's Sub-Committee She has expressed high appreciation of the Frontier Women's organising skill and capacity for work The shortage of loud-speakers, however, had very much handicapped the women's work Begum Nazari Zari, daughter of the late Khan Sarfraz Khan of Mardan, she said, had supplied one loud-speaker set at her own expense, spending over Rs 1,400

Begum Tasadduque Hussain was accompanied by Begum Zubaida Shah during her Frontier tour

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 3 May 1947

VIII.120

CONGRESS TYRANNY FAILED TO SUBDUE PATHANS' SPIRIT[1]
Abdul Qaiyum Khan Reviews Frontier League Movement

NEW DELHI, May 3 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in an interview with the representative of *Pakistan Times* said "The present Muslim League Movement in N W F P has brought about two very significant results Lies frequently propagated by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his henchmen that Muslim Leaguers were incapable of making any sacrifices has been nailed to the counter

"Secondly it has brought about a great change in the public opinion and thousands of Muslim men and women, who were either in the Congress or were indifferent, have joined the Muslim League Conferences, speeches and popular demonstrations could not have brought about this result Frontier Muslims have become very League-minded and they are determined to achieve Pakistan as speedily as possible "

MINISTRY MUST GO

Continuing Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said "Recent Province-wide firings, frequent use of tear-gas, merciless *lathi*-charge on men, women and children have failed to subdue the spirit of Pathans The root cause of the whole trouble is the present unpopular Ministry Not only is there a demand for its removal from the Province but also tribesmen from Gilgit in the North to the borders of British Baluchistan in the South have one and all demanded its removal and are determined to back this demand by action, if necessary Therefore, if peace is to be

should be the Congress If Khan Abdul Ghaffar thinks otherwise, it is merely because no other hypothesis would adequately explain the present happenings in the Frontier Logic, as we know, has never been a strong point with the Congress High Command, and consistency of any type or description, is a very rare characteristic of Congress utterances Even if we concede to the venerable Khan that it is the Governor who is responsible for the present conditions in the N W F P , why do not the Khanate scotch his conspiracy by acceding to the League demand for re-elections The Frontier Gandhi answers the question himself "Why does Caroe want a new election in the Frontier? The bad faith of this intention is plain He wants to hand over power to lackeys and henchmen of his " Forgetting the abuse, the Khan has openly admitted that the re-elections will overthrow the Khanate and return the Muslim League to power That is why re-elections are utterly undesirable and whoever talks of them is not a lackey of the Congress, as all good men should be, but is in league with the British Impartial observers who have heard the loud cries of Dr Khan Sahib and his crew that all the Pathans are behind them, might have occasionally wondered why these gentlemen were so frightened of re-elections If the Pathans were behind them surely the Pathans would again return them to power It is the Muslim League who should hesitate to face the electorate, for fear they might be defeated again Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has very obligingly set these conjectures at rest The Khans, and their patrons in the Congress, do not want re-elections, because they are sure to be defeated, and as it would be difficult to explain such a defeat except on the grounds of a reshuffling of political loyalties they are trying to forestall the dire emergency by cooking up an imaginary Muslim-British controversy If this is a specimen of the attitude the Congress High Command are going to adopt in the present parleys regarding the Frontier Province the prospects of a satisfactory settlement are bleak

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 7 May 1947

VIII.127

WHO IS TO RECEIVE POWER IN N W F P IN JUNE 1948, IS REAL ISSUE[1]

Khan Brothers Determined to Hand Over Frontier to Hindus Says Qaiyum

NEW DELHI, May 6 "The struggle that has been launched by the

Frontier Muslim League was forced on us by the Khan Brothers, who are determined to hand over this Muslim Province to the Hindu Congress," said Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, in an interview

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who has come here with Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Khan Samin Jan Khan, President of the N W F P Muslim League and Mian Abdullah Shah, President of the N W F P League War Council to consult Quaid-i-Azam on the Frontier situation, in an interview said, "I and my colleagues are glad to avail ourselves of the opportunity of meeting the Quaid-i-Azam We have come straight from the Peshawar Central Prison, and we are grateful to him for asking us to come here and giving us an opportunity to meet him

"The struggle that has been launched by the Frontier Muslim League was forced on us by the Khan Brothers, who are determined to hand over this Muslim province to the Hindu Congress The Pathans could never tolerate this and hence this struggle In view of the Statement of February 20[2] by the British Prime Minister the real issue is this Who is to receive power in the N W F P in June, 1948?

"We are determined to fight on till fresh elections are ordered in the province We demand that these elections should be held under Section 93 regime

"The present Ministry resorted to the foulest practices in the 1946 Central Election to cheat us We can never agree to such a Ministry running a fresh election

"The present Ministry which is the root cause of all the troubles in the N W F P must be removed immediately "

Concluding he said, "Muslim India has noted with great interest the fact that the Congress Working Committee is vehemently opposed to fresh election in the N W F P This is a clear indication of the fact that the Congress has lost its hold on the Pathans "—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 7 May 1947
[2]No 1, Vol I, Part I

VIII.128

FRONTIER MUSLIMS DO NOT WANT TO BE RULED BY HINDUS[1]

PESHAWAR, May 5 Sultan Mohammad Khan, President, Frontier Muslim League Defence Committee, has criticised the statement recently

issued by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, saying that fresh elections would be held only after the new constitution was finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly and not before that

"The present Ministry," he says, "does not command the confidence of the people of the province and the representatives sent by this Legislature to the Constituent Assembly, namely, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr Abul Kalam Azad, do not voice the views of the masses "

He further adds, "As there is going to be transfer of power in June 1948, it should only be just that fresh elections be held so that the transfer should be made into the hands, who really represent the people of the Province The mere fact that the two representatives of the Legislature have participated in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly is a positive proof of the fact that they do not represent the true convictions of our people The Province does not want to be ruled by a strong Hindu Centre "—OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 7 May 1947

VIII.129

FULL TRIBAL SUPPORT TO PAKISTAN DEMAND[1]

SHABQADAR (Peshawar), May 3 At a meeting of the tribal *Maliks*, representing Mohmands, Afridis, Wazirs, Mahsoods and Bajaurs, a resolution was passed pledging their full support to the Muslims demand for independent sovereign Pakistan The tribal *Maliks* reiterated their firm decision to support the Indian Muslims by all possible means for the attainment of Pakistan

At Kohat after *Juma* prayers, the congregation passed a resolution expressing lack of confidence in the Khanna Ministry

In Mardan picketing of courts continued but no arrests were made

Mr Abdul Hameed Qureshi, Second Master in the Peshawar Islamia High School, who had been ordered to quit the Province under the Frontier Crimes Rules [*sic* for Regulations], has now been reinstated

After Friday prayers in the Mohabat Khan Mosque, Peshawar, the congregation converted itself into a procession which passed through the main streets of the town. Sixteen persons were temporarily put under arrest

On Sunday a well-attended meeting was held at Peshawar in which

"The Frontier people must carry out orders and directions of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam in connection with the movement which is now in full swing in the N W F P As Muslims it is our duty to protect the weak and we must realise that our movements are not directed against the minorities in the Province but against the present Government which has completely lost confidence of the Pathans

"We have not the least doubt that our efforts and our sacrifices will shortly be crowned with success The Frontier is a part of Pakistan and no power on earth can stop us from achieving our destiny "—API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 9 May 1947

VIII.132

LAHORE MUSLIM STUDENTS PLEDGE FULL SUPPORT TO FRONTIER MOVEMENT[1]

The Muslim Students' National Guards, at a meeting held in Lahore, under the presidentship of Syed H Hyder Kazmi, unanimously adopted a resolution pledging full support to the Muslims of the Frontier Province in their struggle against the Khan-Khanna Ministry

A deputation of Muslim students will meet the Provincial leaders in this connection

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 9 May 1947

VIII.133

LIQUIDATE KHAN MINISTRY—'*ULAMA'S FATWA*[1]

PESHAWAR, May 8 The leading '*Ulama* and *Mulla*s of N W F P have issued a *fatwa* enjoining upon Muslims that the attainment of Pakistan for the establishment of *shariat* rule was a cardinal principle of Islam and that it was the religious duty of every Muslim in the Frontier Province and Tribal Areas, to do their best in paving the way for the achievement of Pakistan The liquidation of the Khanna-Khan Ministry is the first step towards that direction

Processions were taken out and courts were picketed in different cities of the province Several arrests were made in Mardan Demonstrations were held at the railway station and Pakistan tickets issued

A procession was taken out in Peshawar yesterday and courts were picketed by the Muslim League volunteers Some temporary arrests were made

At Kohat, Syed Qaim Shah and Mr Yunus Shah, pleaders, were arrested under Section 40 F C R

It is learnt that warrants have been issued against Malik-ur-Rehman Kayani and Mahabat Ali Khan, President and Secretary respectively of the District Muslim League

Twenty-six persons were arrested here yesterday, while picketing the courts, but seven were sent to jail

A hand-grenade is alleged to have exploded inside the house of Sardar Sawan Singh at Kohat It is reported that one boy and a servant were slightly injured

At Mardan, courts were picketed, demonstrations were held at the railway station and Pakistan tickets issued

Processions were also taken out at a number of other places in the province —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 10 May 1947

VIII.137

MUSLIMS' PICKET KOHAT COURTS 34 ARRESTED[1]

KOHAT, May 9 The courts in the town were compelled to suspend work as a result of picketing by the Muslim League

Three League leaders, Mian Humayun Shah, pleader, Sayed Qamus Shah, pleader and Press Secretary, and Mian Fazal Shah were arrested under Section 40 F C R

Twenty-five picketers and six processionists under the leadership of Mr Ghulam Mohammed Khan and Mr Ghulam Hussain were also arrested

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 10 May 1947

VIII.141

FRONTIER GOVERNMENT PROHIBITS JAIL INTERVIEWS[1]

D I KHAN, May 10 The Khan-Khanna Ministry has prohibited the interviewing of the Muslim League prisoners in jails by their relatives

The Inspector-General of Prisons who arrived here on Friday saw Pir Zakori Sharif in the jail

It will be recalled that already the Muslim circles are complaining against inadequate food and lack of amenities to the League prisoners The "Dictator" of the Muslim League, Mr Mohammad Ibrahim, saw the Deputy Commissioner in this connection

2 MUSLIMS FINED RS 1,500

The Deputy Commissioner, D I Khan, has imposed a fine of Rs 1,500 on two leading *zamindars* of Panıala village, Mohammad Aslam Khan and Mohammad Akbar Khan, for alleged taking part in communal riots there

MUSLIM BAYONETED

A Muslim, who was bayoneted on Friday morning by a military officer, has been admitted to the hospital with serious wounds The "Dictator" of the Muslim League, Mr Mohammad Ibrahim, saw the Station Commander, Col Fell, who has promised to look into the matter

CIVIL SUPPLIES DIRECTOR

Major Book, Director, Civil Supplies, arrived in D I Khan on Friday He was met by Muslim League leaders who discussed with him the food situation in the district

Vedik Bhartari College is not opening for some time more The Muslim students who were not allowed to offer their prayers in the boarding house hesitate to rejoin the College

The local Muslim circles are now discussing the steps for converting the Islamia School into an Intermediate College

NO NEED TO RECALL GOVERNOR

Nawab Nasrullah Khan, Khan Alizai, Nawabzada Khan Bahadur Mohammad Nasir Khan, retired District and Sessions Judge and Khan Bahadur Abdul Haye Khan Qasuria in a joint statement say

"We strongly condemn the resolution passed by the Punjab Congress Committee recommending immediate recall of the Frontier Governor 'as the only solution for putting an end to the disturbances in the

Frontier' We earnestly believe that the disturbances in the Frontier would have been on a much greater scale than now but for Sir Olaf Caroe's statesmanship and intimate knowledge of the Province The root cause of the trouble is the unpopularity of the present Ministry for certain well-known reasons We sincerely believe that application of Section 93 is the only solution of the Frontier troubles and pray for its immediate application"

[1]Pakistan Times, 11 May 1947

VIII.142

MUMTAZ SHAH NAWAZ ENDS HER WHIRLWIND TOUR OF FRONTIER[1]

PESHAWAR, May 10 Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, a well-known League worker from the Punjab, has been carrying on vigorous propaganda among the Muslim women throughout the Frontier Province She visited Utmanzai, the birth place of the Red Shirt Movement

During her whirlwind tour of the Province, she addressed several public meetings of women History was made in Peshawar on Friday, when she addressed a joint meeting of men and women after *Juma* prayers Congratulating the Pathans, men and women, on their valiant fight, which they are putting up against the Congress Hindu Government to achieve their long lost civil liberties, she declared "Muslim India expects every man and woman, old and young, to do his or her duty towards the nation"

Accompanied by Begum Sardar Ali and Begum Faqir Mohammad and other energetic women workers of Peshawar, she visited the interior of the province Addressing a women's meeting at Utmanzai, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz said "Let us all work together, with a view to giving a burial to the Red Shirt Movement, which has for all practical purposes become a handmaid of the Hindu Congress at its own birth place"

Miss Mumtaz arrived in Lahore on Saturday

[1]Pakistan Times, 11 May 1947

Mr Fazal Karim, Advocate, was arrested A sum of Rs 1,000 was collected on the spot at a public meeting where an appeal for funds was made

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 May 1947

VIII. 145

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BANNU JAIL ON HUNGER-STRIKE[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 14] The Civil Liberties Movement in the North West Frontier Province continues unabated, and the axe of oppression of the Khan Ministry is falling on the Muslims as usual Political prisoners in Bannu Jail are on hunger-strike from the evening of May 11

Qazi Matin-ud-Din, Secretary of the District Muslim League Kohat, was arrested in Kohat on Tuesday under [Section] 40 F C R, ruthlessly and indiscriminately applied without appropriate reasons Begum Kamaluddin arrived in Kohat on Tuesday and was served with a notice to leave the district This news spread like a wild fire in the town Many ladies in veil assembled near the police headquarters to protest against this inhuman and undemocratic treatment, which the Congress Ministry was showing to crush the Civil Liberties Movement of the people

Later a women's procession marched through the main bazaar Many ladies addressed the gathering and exhorted them to show patience and be ready for greater sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan Another huge procession of Muslim Leaguers followed by 4,000 women marched through the main bazaar at 6 p m defying Section 144

The lady workers from Peshawar appealed for funds About a thousand and half was collected on the spot The courts were picketed and their work was suspended for few hours Twenty picketers were arrested The curfew was extended till May 18 despite protests The present timings of curfew from 8 p m to 6 a m greatly hinder in the *khuftan* [night] and morning prayers Khan-Khanna Ministry is paying no heed to the religious sentiments of the Muslims

EXPLOSIONS IN ABBOTTABAD

An API message says Two explosions are reported to have taken place in Abbottabad and one in Peshawar City as a result of which the roof of one house was slightly damaged in Abbottabad while the walls of two houses were slightly damaged in Peshawar

Political prisoners in Bannu Jail are reported to have gone on hunger-strike on the evening of May 11

Telephone wires are also reported to have been cut between Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan

RED SHIRTS JOIN LEAGUE

Some Red Shirt leaders accompanied by several of their followers in full red shirt uniform called at the State Muslim League office and declared that they have resigned from the Congress and joined the Muslim League

The Red Shirt leaders are Mr Khadim Mohammad Jaffar with 50 Red Shirts of Katlandi, Sayed Shahzada Badshah with 20 Red Shirts, Mr Kadim Shah with 120 Red Shirts, and Mr Aminulla, an erstwhile prominent Congress worker with 30 Red Shirts

A resolution reiterating confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was passed The meeting adopted another resolution also calling on all to be prepared for any sacrifice The meeting made it clear that the Muslim League was not a party of Khans as asserted by Congressites but it was a party in which every Muslim young and old, man and woman had confidence

The present Congress Government had lost the confidence of the public of the Frontier Province and that is why the Congress was compelled to change the name of Red Shirts to Zalme Pakhtoon and also change their policy of non-violence to that of violence

The Nowshera and Jahangira Railway Stations were picketed yesterday Trains were delayed and Pakistan tickets were issued by Muslim League volunteers

[1] *Dawn*, 16 May 1947

VIII.146

LEAGUE MOVEMENT CONTINUES IN KOHAT WOMEN PICKET COURTS[1]

KOHAT, May 15 The League Movement continues with undiminished strength A huge procession of Muslim Leaguers was taken out on Wednesday followed by a procession of thousands of women The procession started from Jinnah Park at 9 a m and marched through the main streets of the town

While passing through the main bazaar five processionists were arrested

Street corner meetings were held and speeches were made by a

VIII.148

LEAGUE FLAG ON TELEPHONE EXCHANGE[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 17] Muslim League women demonstrators in *burqa* entered the local Central Telephone Exchange yesterday turned out the operators and other employees and occupied the . chairs Some of them started writing on walls such slogans as "Muslim League *Zindabad*" and "Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad* "

The demonstrators left the Exchange building after hoisting the Muslim League flag over it —API

[1] *Dawn*, 18 May 1947

VIII.149

MARDAN NATIONAL GUARDS *LATHI*-CHARGED[1]

25 League Volunteers Arrested in Peshawar

PESHAWAR, [May 17] Twenty-five Muslim League workers were arrested here when a huge procession in defiance of the Government ban was taken out after the *Juma* prayers yesterday The processionists marched through the city carrying League flags and shouting League slogans

The Muslim ladies of Mardan also took out a huge procession yesterday, which paraded the city streets breaking the police cordon at three places

The Muslim National Guards who accompanied the women processionists were severely *lathi*-charged and ten of them received injuries

All the Public Works Department Rest Houses and *Patwarkhana* [where] public records concerning canals and other reference books were kept, were picketed by the League volunteers Picketing started at the same time in all these places

A correspondent from D I Khan states that today all the courts were picketed by Muslim villagers Eight of the picketers were arrested and immediately sent to jail

An API report says

Courts were picketed in Nowshera, Kohat, Haripur and Bannu by the Muslim League volunteers yesterday —OPI and API

[1] *Dawn*, 19 May 1947

Shabazgarhi, Tene, Gohati and Jagan Nath were also picketed, as well as the office of the *zaildar* of Mardan

On Saturday, the work of the courts at Nowshera was paralysed for a long time as a result of picketing Fifteen persons are said to have been arrested The Peshawar City Muslim League volunteers took out a large procession through the main streets of the city and some arrests were made at the Kabuli Police Station

[1]*Dawn*, 23 May 1947

VIII.153

LEAGUE CONCERN OVER PESHAWAR JAIL SITUATION[1]

NEW DELHI, [May 21] The situation in the Frontier as it has developed within the last few days due to the Government trying to force the political prisoners to leave the Peshawar Central Jail is engaging the serious attention of the League High Command

According to the latest information available in New Delhi on Wednesday evening more than a hundred political prisoners have been injured as a result of police and military atrocities in the jail

Some of these prisoners have been injured rather seriously The injured include many prominent League leaders of the province

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Communications Member, who met Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah on Wednesday morning has, it is understood, discussed the situation in detail with the Quaid-i-Azam in the light of the latest developments

In the evening Mr Liaquat Ali Khan also met the Quaid-i-Azam and is understood to have discussed *inter alia* the Frontier situation The latest situation in the Punjab was also discussed

High League circles here are greatly perturbed about the Frontier situation It is pointed out that even the British did not behave in this inhuman and brutal manner towards the political prisoners at any time whatsoever, howsoever grave the accusations against such prisoners might have been

The case of political prisoners in connection with the 1942 movement launched by the Congress is a very recent instance

It is learnt that no outsider is allowed inside the jail and that the Muslims in Peshawar and suburbs are greatly upset over such mean tactics of the Government

Though League workers outside the jail are doing their best to

VIII.155

PESHAWAR JAIL INCIDENT KHAN VERSION[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 23] The Frontier Premier, Dr Khan Sahib at his press conference yesterday answering questions regarding Government's attitude towards growth of armed political parties like Zalme Pakhtoon and Ghazi Pakhtoon declared, "Government is there to see that the law-abiding citizens are not worried or coerced by these organisations in any way but no popular Governments will interfere in the free will of the people to organize themselves into groups to protect themselves and their rights "

Dr Khan Sahib said that he was going to Delhi along with his brother Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan on May 30 to attend the Congress Working Committee meeting

Dr Khan Sahib was asked a number of questions about the genesis of trouble in Peshawar Central Prison

He said, "Muslim League political prisoners who are theoretically wedded to non-violence but have all along been adopting violent methods hoisted Muslim League flags all over the place in Peshawar Jail They have armed themselves with knives and daggers and gone out of the jail by force They stayed the nights out and returned to jail at will They attacked warders and jail officials and were fighting among themselves and abusing the jail staff This type of behaviour has been noticed in Haripur, D I Khan, Kohat and in a milder form in Bannu Jail

The Government warned the prisoners that if they do not behave, their privileges would be withdrawn

The Muslim League political prisoners broke into the cells of the condemned prisoners, shaved them off to disguise them from the authorities and mixed them among the crowd They also burnt gallows The Inspector-General of Prisons was obliged to go into the jail to establish control He was attacked by a Muslim Leaguer with a knife Order was established without any firing and only police used tear-gas Their privileges have been withdrawn —API

[1]*Dawn*, 24 May 1947

and absence of any evidence against them But the accused have refused to furnish bails demanding the unconditional withdrawl of case against them

The League Civil Disobedience [Movement], so peacefully conducted hitherto, has assumed such proportions that not only the Government find no jail accommodation for those arrested but the administration in the whole of district is completely at a standstill Only token arrests are now being made though people in thousands daily court arrest On Friday, the police arrested only 5 persons and even they were let off later

GOVERNMENT TACTICS

But the Government far from relaxing its annoying tactics is forging new weapons to throttle people's civil liberties People continue to make protests against the imposition of curfew during the time of prayers But the Deputy Commissioner instead of relaxing it, has now promulgated a new order to the effect that all Cantonment gates be closed at 7 p m

Khan Amir Mohammad Khan, Member, Frontier Muslim League War Council was arrested today

Court picketing continues with unabated ardour paralysing all court work

At D I Khan also court picketing continues as usual Ten picketers were taken into custody yesterday but were later released

A big League meeting was also held at Peshawar yesterday, Malik Mohsan Ali Imran, Secretary and Mohammad Nawaz Khan, Vice-President spoke They were assured of public help

The following protest resolutions were passed in all the city mosques after Friday prayers at D I Khan

(a) Muslims cannot attend evening prayers in mosques due to curfew hours It is clearly an interference in the religious affairs They urge the local authorities to relax curfew hours from 5 p m to 10 p m

(b) The Muslims have suffered heavy losses in riots but the Government has refused them any help from Government relief fund Muslims demand their due share

(c) The villagers strongly protest against their defence rules being taken away by the D C It is highly inadmissible to take back rifles in such crucial times

It is further learnt that Mr Zia-ud-din Khan, Postmaster, was not allowed to go to his house to evacuate his family and defend his property during the riots as a result of which he was robbed of all his property worth Rs 50,000 His son, however, was able to evacuate his family at great personal risk

[1] *Dawn*, 25 May 1947

VIII.157

INQUIRY INTO PESHAWAR JAIL INCIDENT DEMANDED[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 25] A resolution condemning the N W F P Congress Ministry for making *lathi*-charge on political prisoners in the Peshawar Central Jail and for using tear-gas bombs containing metal and glass pieces on them was passed by a largely attended meeting of the Muslims, here yesterday afternoon The meeting was presided over by Mr Syed Habib Shah of Bhanamani

The resolution demanded that the Governor should immediately appoint an impartial tribunal to inquire into the recent incident in the Peshawar Central Jail

The Mian Sahib of Mahzar speaking on the resolution said Congress tyrannies in the province have reached their peak The Khan-Khanna Government is using very low methods to counteract the League agitation in this province They have used tear-gas, bombs, containing shrapnel and combustible elements against the political prisoners in the Central Jail and thereby injured scores of innocent and harmless prisoners for the simple reason that they refused to quit the jail even after all their privileges were withdrawn

He said that the Provincial Government had become very nervous and was at the end of its tether

Criticising the demand for an independent Pathanistan and formation of the Zalme Pakhtoon, he said that these stunts were intended to regain the confidence of the people which they had lost

He appealed to the Pathans to carry on the movement peacefully even in the face of provocation

Mr Mohammad Ashraff, Secretary, City Muslim League, addressing the gathering, said that the agitation would continue till Congress Ministry resigned

The meeting thereafter formed a procession and marched through the main bazaars of the city, defying the ban on processions Fifty-five processionists were arrested

A large procession of Muslim women also was taken out today Work in the local courts and the telephone exchange was at a standstill for some time when a large number of people picketed them today Fifty-five picketers, it is reported, have been arrested

Nine League political prisoners, two of whom were unconscious, were brought to the women's ward of the Lady Reading Hospital from the Peshawar Central Jail this evening

A Committee of Action consisting of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, Syed Mohammad Sa'adullah, Mr Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Mr Saeed-ur-Rahman, Mr Abdul Hamid, Dewan Abdul Basit, Mr Abdul Kasim, Mr Abdulla Choudhary, MLA, and Mr Saleh Ahmed, has been formed with powers to take effective measures to implement the above resolution

The Committee of Action will hold its first meeting on March 3

Addressing a large gathering of Muslims who had gathered in large numbers, Maulana Abdul Hamid said that the struggle that was ahead would be purely non-communal and non-violent He urged the people to maintain discipline and calm so that the present oppressive Government might be thrown out and a real people's Government set up

Earlier, a procession of 10,000 people paraded the main streets of the town —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 February 1947

IX.2

ASSAM LEAGUE STARTS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE[1]
Provincial President Arrested

SHILLONG, March 10 Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, was today arrested at Tezpur, where an Order under Section 144 has since been imposed

"Assam Day" called by a Joint Committee of Action of the Bengal and Assam Provincial Leagues to protest against the Government's eviction policy was observed all over the province

A message from Nowgong said that the Assam League Working Committee which met here yesterday, decided to launch their Civil Disobedience Movement "immediately" against the eviction policy of the Government The Committee drew up a panel of 51 top-ranking League leaders of Assam, who will defy Section 144 and court arrest Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan headed the list He left Tezpur to court arrest

The Working Committee also asked the Muslim League Assembly party not to attend the forthcoming Assembly session —API and OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 12 March 1947

IX.3

ASSAM MUSLIM LEAGUE PARTY BOYCOTTS LEGISLATURES[1]

SHILLONG, March 12 The Assam Muslim League Parliamentary party has decided to refrain from attending both the Houses of the Provincial Legislatures

The Committee of Action and the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League will meet here on March 14 and 16 respectively, to discuss the latest political developments in the province

The Assam Legislative Council sat today only for 45 minutes after which it adjourned for want of quorum Only 10 members were present

The Muslim League members were absent *en bloc* in pursuance of the decision of the League Parliamentary party —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 14 March 1947

IX.4

ONE MILLION VOLUNTEERS READY TO COURT ARREST IN ASSAM [1]

League Movement Gains Momentum

CALCUTTA, March 17 "The Assam Government have put a clamp on the news emanating from the province with regards to the Muslim League's Civil Disobedience Movement against the eviction policy of the Government Processions are taken out every day in Tezpur and in other places of Dhubri sub-division and hundreds of people are courting arrest The movement is gaining rapid momentum," said Mr Mahmud Ali, Secretary, Assam Provincial Muslim League, in an interview

He also revealed that the Muslim League had no less than half a million volunteers ready to court arrest in due course and thousands of Muslims and Hindus had been asked to move in to the waste land in non-private reserves which they had begun to do

He further remarked "If Bengal is ready to help us, as we see it is, we are confident that our struggle is bound to succeed and we shall be able to bring the Assam Government to their senses very soon Our cause is just and we shall win "

In the end he said that the Assam Government were trying to

IX.7

BENGALIS NOT DAUNTED BY BARDOLOI'S THREAT, SAYS LEAGUE LEADER[1]

CALCUTTA, March 19 "Bengal will do all that is possible to undo the cruel and inhuman eviction policy of the Government of Assam", says the Secretary of the Bengal and Assam Joint Committee of Action of the Muslim League, in a statement today

He adds "The recent threat given by the Premier of Assam, Mr Gopinath Bardoloi, that the people of Bengal going to Assam to assist the evictees will be faced with guns and bayonets," has not created the least terror among the Bengalis On the other hand, it has doubled their enthusiasm for the cause The arrest of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, has added to the fire which was already burning in their hearts

Mr Bardoloi should realise that the well wishers, friends and relations of those who made Assam what she is now by fighting with ferocious animals like leopard and tigers, know how to take a firm stand before bayonets and firearms for a right cause Preparations are accordingly being made in all the districts to give effect to the programme already adopted by the Joint Committee of Action "—API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 21 March 1947

IX.8

11 MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS KILLED IN ASSAM POLICE FIRING[1]
Civil Disobedience Movement Takes a Serious Turn

BARPETA (ASSAM), March 24 Four people, including a woman of 70, died on the spot, and an equal number were wounded, when the police opened fire on the Muslims of Chochra, a village in Barpeta sub-division on March 21, informs the Secretary of the Assam Provincial Muslim League

The same evening fire was opened again in the Mandia grazing reserve, killing and wounding a number of Muslims Up to the morning of March 23, 11 bodies were removed to hospital and 15 persons were lying seriously wounded

The situation has taken a grave turn Maulvi Syed Abdur Rauf, MLA, rushed to the spot and then returned to Barpeta for attending the "Pakistan Day" celebrations He said that the police had absolutely no justification in opening fire on the peaceful Muslims, but unless an inquiry was made by top-ranking officers and due care was taken by the League leaders, justice would be denied to the Muslims

A message from Gauhati says that the situation in several places in Kamrup, Goalpara and Darrang Districts is tense, following the launching of agitation against the eviction policy of the Assam Government by the Muslim League, but the Government are taking precautionary measures in these areas It was stated there officially on Saturday

Mr N Phookan, District Magistrate of Gauhati, called a conference of leading citizens of the town, including Maulvi Nurul Huq, Acting President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, and Dr Bubandeswar Barauh, President, District Congress Committee, and urged the leaders of the different communities to abandon tomorrow's programmes in observance of the "Pakistan Day" by the Muslim League and the "Anti-Pakistan Day" by the non-Muslims It is learnt that the leaders attending the conference agreed to maintain peace by curtailing the original programmes

Mr Kazimuddin Ahmed, President, and Maulana Ata-ur-Rahman, Secretary, of the Barpeta (Assam) Muslim League, with 16 National Guards, were arrested at Tezpur on March 21, and sent to Gauhati Jail under police escort, according to a message received in Calcutta from the Shillong correspondent of the *Azad*, a Muslim League daily

It is learnt that Dr Emran Hussain Chaudhry, MLA, is proceeding to Tezpur to lead the Civil Disobedience Movement He is the first Member of the Assam Legislative Assembly to take part in the movement

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan will be detained in jail for 3 months without trial, it is understood

The Assam Government have also ordered to detain Mr Saleh Ahmad, a member of the Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League for 15 days, under the Assam Public Safety Ordinance

The Assam Muslims observed complete *hartal* yesterday as a protest against the arrest of their leaders

In Tezpur a huge procession was taken out and when it reached the jail, the police tried to stop it but failed

Meetings were held in many towns and villages demanding the release of the leaders and condemning the eviction policy of the Assam Government —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 March 1947

IX.14

KHALIQ-UZ-ZAMAN TO REPORT ON ASSAM LEAGUE MOVEMENT[1]

Congress Government's Strength
Dwindling Ministry May Go

The Civil Disobedience Movement in Assam called by the Provincial Muslim League would be a very strong movement, as he had found very large numbers of people to offer sacrifices for the League cause, said Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, member of the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League, in an interview today

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman returned last night to Calcutta after a week's tour of Assam, accompanied by Mr Habibullah Bahar, Acting Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League In their tour they visited Gauhati, Shillong, Sylhet, Karimganj and Habibgunj and addressed public meetings at all those places

RELEASE ABDUL HAMID KHAN

Asked about reports of negotiations having taken place in Shillong between Congress leaders of Assam and the Muslim League leaders for a settlement of the immigration question, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman said that no direct approach was made to him, though he understood that a section of the Congress group from Surma Valley was anxious for a settlement on humanitarian grounds

Mr Muhammad Sa'adullah as Chairman of the Committee of Action could start negotiations if Mr Bardoloi was prepared to come to a settlement on reasonable terms, subject of course to the condition that the leaders of the Muslim League, including Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, were immediately released to enable them to take part in the deliberations

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman said that he found the situation in Assam very bad Several persons had been killed and many wounded outside the grazing reserves in the settled areas The Provincial Muslim League had unanimously passed the resolution launching mass Civil Disobedience [Movement] on non-communal lines It had also invited other minorities to join the movement

The propaganda that had been carried on by the Congress Government among the indigenous people that the immigration was aimed at increasing the Muslim population in order to turn the area into Pakistan was baseless and historically wrong This immigration due to economic conditions prevailing in Bengal had started as early as 1901 when none dreamt of Pakistan and had continued since then in some form or other

MUSLIMS LARGEST SINGLE GROUP IN ASSAM

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman continued that Muslims were the largest single group in Assam and they had the support of several other communities It was through sheer propaganda and money that the Congress managed to secure a majority in the Provincial Assembly But the strength of the Congress Government was dwindling and the Bardoloi Ministry might go

Asked about help from outside the province to the Civil Disobedience Movement in Assam, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman said "I do not see that there is anything in the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League which asks for help from outside, though Muslims all over will have their sympathy with the Muslims of Assam and will watch the movement with great anxiety "

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman will now report to the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League on the Assam situation He leaves for Lucknow on April 5 —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 4 April 1947

IX.15

BARDOLOI'S BULLETS[1]

The news from Assam is extremely disquieting The Congress Premier, Mr Bardoloi, has made an imaginary Muslim League invasion of Assam the pretext for a virtual declaration of war on Bengali immigrants Only the other day, nine persons were killed and eight injured as a result of police firing in Barpeta sub-division It has been given out that compromising documents have been seized from Muslim League National Guards, and this discredited wartime device is being employed to justify full-scale operations against a landless and unarmed people drive by hunger and want to seek a meagre living in an inhospitable land We have already had occasion to refer to the manifest iniquity of the Assam Government's eviction policy, which derives its sanction from the divine right of brute force to dispossess, exploit and harass the poor and the weak We reiterate that the Assam Government is bringing communal, racial and fascist consideration to bear upon a question which should legitimately be viewed from a purely economic angle The "hire system" which is being enforced by the Assam Government with such extreme severity exceeds in its injustice and rigour even the

with the Muslim League's demand for inclusion of Assam in the Eastern Zone of Pakistan

He said. "It is a well-known fact that immigration started as early as 1901 and has continued since then for reasons too well-known to be repeated Nobody dreamt of Pakistan when immigration question was started and no sane person can expect immigration to be so speeded up as to make the Muslims a majority community in the province "

Referring to the claim of the Muslims, he said "Muslims are the largest single unit in Assam and they have the sympathies of a large number of tribal people, including Khasis, Ahoms and Garus The Caste Hindus in the province are only 24 lakhs including Rajabhanis who are reckoned as Scheduled Castes in Bengal, but are included along with Caste Hindus in Assam with the object of increasing the percentage of the Caste Hindus "

Adverting to the grouping issue he said "Assam cannot, for reasons economic, cultural, linguistic and other allied considerations, join any other group except Bengal, which even now provides Assam with a University, a High Court, Veterinary Department and similar other facilities to serve its economic and other interests in many ways

"The leaders of the tribal people have been deeply shocked at the unfair methods of the Congress Government during the last elections " He said, he would not be surprised if there was an open revolt against the Congress in tribal areas

Concludingly he asserted that the movement which had been started by the Muslim League in Assam was both non-communal and non-violent and had left a door open for other communities also to join —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 19 April 1947

IX.25

BENGAL GOVERNMENT REFUTE ASSAM MINISTER'S CHARGES[1]

CALCUTTA, April 18 A Bengal Government press note states "The attention of the Government of Bengal has been drawn to a statement attributed to Mr Bishnu Ram Medhi, Revenue and Finance Minister of Assam, that has received publicity in certain sections of the Press, to the effect that the Muslim League movement in that province against the

Muslim League in Govinda Park At the conclusion of the meeting the police made an attempt to arrest Mr Abdul Bari, a member of the Assam Provincial Muslim League Council and Committee of Action, but the crowd surrounded the police and snatched away Mr Abdul Bari —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 April 1947

IX.28

TWO MORE ASSAM LEAGUE LEADERS ARRESTED[1]

SHILLONG, April 24 Mr Mahmud Ali, General Secretary of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, and Mr Ajmal Ali Choudhury, a member of the All India League Council, have been placed under detention for a period of two months, under the Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act

Two other prominent Muslim Leaguers, Alep Haji and Haji Nazim-ud-Din Sarkar, are being detained for three months under the same Act —API

[1]*Pakistan Times* 25 April 1947

IX.29

PROSPECTS OF SETTLEMENT IN ASSAM ARE BRIGHT[1]

Congress-League Conference Concludes After Making Definite Headway

SHILLONG, April 24 The prospects of a settlement of the dispute between the Congress and the League in Assam over the eviction policy of the Government of Assam are bright, according to some of the leaders attending the conference of representatives of the Congress and the League The conference concluded today after making a "definite headway" towards a solution of the difficult problems facing Assam

"The entire situation is very favourable, and the prospects of a settlement are bright Nothing can be stated beyond this at the present

IX.31

BARDOLOI NOT TO RELEASE LEAGUE PRISONERS[1]

GAUHATI, April 28 "If we act on Jinnah-Gandhi Joint Statement[2] and release all Muslim League political prisoners that will be our foolishness Until and unless the League calls off the movement, the question of the release of political prisoners does not arise We cannot allow more lawlessness in the province, and if necessary the public with the aid of the military will deal with the lawlessness," declared Mr Bardoloi, the Assam Premier, in an interview before he flew to Delhi

It is gathered that a committee, consisting of three leaders, including the Premier of Assam and a member of the League Assembly party, will be set up to ascertain the number of immigrants, since 1938, so as to provide land to them —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 30 April 1947
[2]Annex II to No 376, Vol I, Part I

IX.32

ASSAM MUSLIM LEAGUE POLITICAL PRISONER'S DAY[1]

GAUHATI, May 1 "Assam Muslim League Political Prisoner's Day" will be observed throughout the province, as a mark of protest against the arrest of the League leaders

Mr Hashmat Ali, General Secretary, Assam Provincial Muslim Students' Federation has appealed to the Muslim students to observe the day by absenting themselves from their classes and by holding demonstrations and arranging meetings —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 May 1947

IX.33

LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN ASSAM WILL CONTINUE UNABATED[1]

GOPALPUR (ASSAM), May 2 "As soon as the Bardoloi Cabinet took

when at a considerable risk to myself I toured the locality and took some snaps of police atrocities in action

Earlier when leaders arrived to address the meeting as per schedule police activity was intensified in town and scenes appeared reminiscent of last war when whole area presented appearance of armed camp town seeming to be under state of serious emergency

Approaches to town were guarded by police pickets and people questioned on entry Muslims from outlying areas nevertheless infiltrated in ones and twos undaunted by police preparations to attend meeting in defiance of Section 144 A batch of 50 National Guards in plain dress marched twenty miles at night to reach town On the whole, Muslims before and after the meeting and arrest of their leaders, behaved admirably well and with profound patience though feelings ran high and youthful spirits struggled to break lose in revolt at the inhuman cowardly attacks on unarmed peaceful demonstrators Asked by me, the police officer said these measures were intended "to produce moral effect on demonstrators to curb their spirits and create greater respect for established law and Government"

Wave of indignation has swept over the province on dastardly action of the police and extreme measures adopted by them

Situation in province has become so explosive that unless Governor, Sir Akbar Hydari takes up matter personally forthwith and orders thorough inquiry by impartial authority, possibilities of province-wide conflagration are not ruled out by certain quarters On my return from tour of the valley, I found people in an extremely agitated state of mind and fermenting against high-handedness of Government and Police, adds the correspondent

[1]*Dawn*, 21 May 1947

IX.37

3 ASSAM LEAGUE WORKERS SENTENCED FOR SLOGANS[1]

SYLHET, [May 21] Three Muslim League workers were sentenced today by Mr Atul Nandy, the Senior Extra Assistant Commissioner, Sylhet, to one month's imprisonment each for contempt of court

The allegation against them was that they were shouting anti-Ministry slogans in front of the court —API

[1]*Dawn*, 23 May 1947

without studying the real situation in Mankachar Qila, which would bring about strife, Mr Huq says "It is absolutely false to say that a large number of immigrants from Bengal will invade Assam"

Mr Huq also warns the Government against repression of Muslims because, he says, "It will not bring peace and amity but create permanent widespread disaffection among the Muslims" —API

[1]*Morning News*, 2 June 1947

IX.43

CONGRESS INVITED TO VISIT MANKACHAR QILA[1]
Non-Hindus of Assam Want Ministry To Go

SHILLONG, June 2 An invitation to Congress leaders to visit the so-called Purba Pakistan Qila at Mankachar any time they liked, has been extended by Dr Emran Hussain Chaudhury, MLA, member, Committee of Action, Provincial Muslim League, who recently toured the Assam-Bengal border with Mr N Huq, Working President of the Assam League

Giving a picture of the *Qila* which, according to him had been misunderstood by some persons, Dr Chaudhury said that it was nothing but a relief camp with a few thatched huts for which "one match-stick was enough "

Referring to the general situation in the area he said there was no panic and non-Muslims, particularly the Scheduled Castes had expressed their satisfaction and said there was no cause for fear He added that the Hindus and Muslims in that area had lived as brothers for generations and would like to live so for all times to come

Mr Chaudhury emphasised that since the launching of the Muslim League movement, 75 days ago there had been no communal trouble in Assam The movement had remained non-violent and peaceful despite provocation and "indiscriminate firings" in a number of places where "many Muslims were killed "

Mr Chaudhury claimed that the Muslim League struggle in Assam had the full sympathy of 3 lakhs of Ahoms, 19 lakhs of tea garden labourers, 7 lakhs of Scheduled Castes and 16 lakhs of tribals He added that "the non-Hindus of Assam have sympathy for any struggle directed to overthrow the inefficient and oppressive Government full of corruption and nepotism "—API

[1]*Morning News*, 4 June 1947

arrange in suitable cases to form or join administrative units large enough to enable them to be fitted into the constitutional structure. It will also strengthen the position of States during this formulative period if the various Governments which have not already done so take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their State by means of representative institutions

4 During the Interim period it will be necessary for the States to conduct negotiations with British India in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field Such negotiations, which will be necessary whether the States desire to participate in the new Indian Constitutional structure or not, will occupy a considerable period of time, and since some of these negotiations may well be incomplete when the new structure comes into being, it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the succession [sic] Government or Governments that for a period of time the then existing arrangements as to these matters of common concern should continue until the new agreements are completed In this matter, the British Government and the Crown Representative will lend such assistance as they can should it be so desired

5 When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these Governments will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy Moreover, they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose Thus, as a logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them

[NOTE] The following explanatory note was issued by the Cabinet Mission in New Delhi on the date of publication (22nd May, 1946)

"The Cabinet Delegation desire to make it clear that the document

APPENDIX XII

GENESIS OF THE PARTITION OF BENGAL, ASSAM AND THE PUNJAB

XII.1

Richard Casey[1] *to Archibald Wavell*

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 19-21[2]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,
17 December 1944

My dear Lord Wavell,

[*Paras 1 to 6 omitted*]

7 In conversation with Muslims, I find no dearth of questions to ask about "Pakistan" I often say that I would feel much happier in my mind on their account if I could be assured that they had taken into account the essential economic and financial problems of "Pakistan" Usually they become rather embarrassed when one asks if a number of very practical economic and financial matters have been worked out satisfactorily Actually, I suspect that they have done practically no work on this aspect of things at all I have no reason to believe that the conception of "Pakistan" has advanced beyond the stage of political wishful thinking I realize that it has proved a very valuable bargaining counter—but I hope that Mr Jinnah will compromise before Pakistan turns into a tiger that he is riding

8 Some adequately equipped person might, with advantage, write a book on the "Economic Consequences of Mr Jinnah" on a famous parallel

9 My present belief is that the problem of "Pakistan" represents the biggest (and, indeed, practically the only) hurdle standing in the way of the constitutional settlement of the Indian problem

I realize that the Congress is basically responsible for the growth of the Pakistan idea, by the way they have treated the Muslims—but equally do I believe that, unless the Pakistan idea is squashed (and some other means of satisfying the Muslims substituted for it), it is likely so to delay the implementing of independence for India that Anglo-Indian relations will suffer grievously

I believe that a considerable amount of work will have to be done on the Muslims if they are to be weaned away from the Pakistan idea

If it were your wish that I should pursue the matter here in Bengal,[3] I believe that I might be able to influence a certain section of the

of interests can only be the general feeling in Bengal, shared by both Hindus and Muslims—(1) that Bengal is and always has been a region apart,—(2) that it has never had a "fair deal" from India,—(3) that All-India politics and administration are increasingly dominated by Bombay and Madras, and by the provinces nearer Delhi

16 One can sum all this up, not unfairly I think, by saying that the Bengalis are suffering from "Centrophobia"

17 The point here is that, although Nazimuddin may continue to shout for Pakistan, his belief that he may get the Hindus to agree to the idea of an independent Eastern Indian State (in which the Muslims will have scarcely any effective majority) suggests that his support for Pakistan is a bargaining counter, and that what he is really after is a guarantee that a Hindu-ridden Centre shall not have any effective control over the welfare of the people of Bengal

18 All this has relevance to the question whether there is either advantage to be gained or prospect of success in a definite attempt to argue the Muslims out of their demand for Pakistan and to provide them, as an alternative, with "safeguards" for what they really want I would be grateful to have your views on this

19 As you agreed to my discussing my letter to you of November 6th with the other Governors here recently, I am sending copies of this letter to the Governors of the U P , Bihar, Orissa and Assam

Yours sincerely,
R G CASEY

H E

Passages marked 'X' [as indicated in note 3] Draft will be submitted

E M JENKINS[5]
23/12[/44]

An interesting letter Governor said much of this to me verbally

W[AVELL]
23/12 [/44]

Copy sent to Sir John Thorne[6] with d o

Copy sent to the Governor of the Punjab with d o from H E

[1]Governor of Bengal

[2]Also see *TP*, V, No 151, pp 307-310

[3]The sub-para here and para 18 had been sidelined and marked X in the original

[4]Casey had stated that the British will "have to be completely neutral," otherwise if they "come down on the Hindu side or the Muslim side," they will make more enemies than they had at that time See *TP*, V, No 91, p 182

[5]Private Secretary to the Viceroy up to 1945, Governor of the Punjab from April 1946

[6]Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council

Lahore	7,218,001	4,199,658	1,201,062	1,817,281
Total	18,284,776	13,021,364	2,500,087	2,763,325

[Total of Hindus and Others] 5,263,412

Notes

(1) Muslims are in a majority in all districts in the Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions Sikhs have a considerable interest in the Canal Colonies of the Montgomery[3] and Lyallpur[4] districts of the Multan Division

(2) Muslims are in a minority in the Amritsar district of the Lahore Division, and Sikh influence in the Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts is very great

PART B—DIVISIONS IN WHICH MUSLIMS ARE IN A MINORITY

Divisions	*Total Population*	*Muslims*	*Hindus*	*Others*
Jullundur	5,438,581	1,877,742	1,950,802	1,610,037
Ambala	4,695,462	1,318,136	3,099,483	277,843
Total	10,134,043	3,195,878	5,050,285	1,887,880

[Total of Hindus and Others] 6,938,165

Note Muslims are in a minority in all districts in the Jullundur and Ambala divisions

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, Enclosure to No 51, pp 114-119
[2]No II 1
[3]Now called Sahiwal
[4]Now called Faisalabad

XII.11

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 f 54[1]

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No 1378-S

23 August 1945
(1800)

SUPERINTENDENT SERIES/PRIVATE

Your private telegram No 459 of 21st August[2] has been discussed by Home Member, Political Adviser, Reforms Commissioner and my Private Secretary They advise (a) that Draft Declaration is less likely to be accepted now than it was in 1942, and (b) that the Pakistan idea

which way a plebiscite of the whole population would go, and though territorial adjustments might be less difficult than in the Punjab, the Muslim protests would be violent if Calcutta, which is a predominantly Hindu city, was not included in the Muslim portion

5 Sir S Cripps stated in a letter[4] to Jinnah that "a province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population" This proposal was rejected by the Muslim League in a resolution of the 11th April 1942[5]

6 The intentions of His Majesty's Government and the nature of the secession safeguard which they are offering to the Muslim minority, will not be clear unless the points in paragraph 3 are dealt with by His Majesty's Government before the Constituent Assembly is set up

7 The Governor of the Punjab in a recent letter[6] discussed the probably [sic for probable] effect of what he called "crude Pakistan" i e Pakistan without considerable territorial adjustments He said "Since my return from Delhi I have discussed the general situation with a wide variety of people, non-officials and officials, Indians and Europeans, the consensus of opinion is that if Pakistan becomes an imminent reality we shall be heading straight for blood-shed on a wide scale, non-Muslims, especially Sikhs, are not bluffing, they will not submit peacefully to a government that is labelled "Mohammedan Raj"

8 I do not think there is at present any clear scheme of partition which can be announced by His Majesty's Government as their notion of the ultimate safeguard for the Muslims Nor can such a scheme be prepared immediately and without consultation with Indian opinion

W[AVELL]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 82, pp 188-190

[2]The relevant part reads as follows His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to

(i) the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down" See *TP*, VI, note 1, No 82, p 189

[3]See No II 1

[4]See Annex

[5]See *TP*, I, No 606, pp 748-751

[6]See No XII 5

Durga Das has welcomed the absence from the statement of anything open to this objection

On the other hand the Congress want to know, according to Holburn, what H M G will do about partition in the absence of agreement They cannot very well have it both ways Nor can HE or HMG be fully prepared to make up their minds next summer if nothing more than a secretariat enquiry into partition is made now

I do not think Menon could produce the sort of report required, nor could he be quoted

So it does seem that something more should be done during the cold weather How would it be to appoint a committee composed of

Sir H Dow,[4]

Sir B N Rau,[5]

Sir Md Zafrullah Khan[6]

with E P Moon[7] as Secretary?

Dow would be the best of the Governors on this job— and we could say H Lewis was excluded by his previous connection with the Reforms Office

Zafarullah might very well refuse to serve, but his unorthodox religious beliefs would not matter, and he is the only Muslim (barring perhaps Hydari[8]) I know with the intellectual equipment to compete with the rest The Committee would be of very high mental calibre indeed

Pendy Moon's choice would annoy the Punjab Government because it was his breach of confidence with them that led to his departure But I have been reading his little book *Target for India* and he certainly has the right outlook He both faces the undeniable facts and shows the right awareness of Indian sensitiveness Whether he could be persuaded to serve I do not know—I suspect he would, but I haven't met him

The terms of reference might be something on the following lines

"To examine, as a preliminary to the discussions with representatives of the provincial legislators, possible modifications of the draft declaration of 1942 which might make it more acceptable to Indian opinion"

The Press would have to be carefully handled before any such Committee was publicly set up No doubt there would be a good deal of deliberate misrepresentation, and Jinnah might gain added strength from the cry "Pakistan (Islam) in Danger" But Jinnah will use that cry anyhow, and to hell with press reactions (after reasonable attempts to make them favourable)[1]

XII.16

Note by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 85

29 September 1945

H E

Letter below[1] from George Abell I very much doubt if a committee of the kind he has in mind would fill the bill Few people in this country read political literature which is distasteful to them and I think Sir Hugh Dow, Sir B N Rau and Sir Zafrulla Khan would be written off at once as a trio of "old sweats", who can be shown to be prejudiced in one way or another My own idea was to secure the services of some really eminent individual who knew nothing at all about India and could not, even in this country, be said to have committed himself to any point of view The Cabinet as far as I remember did not like the idea of any formal enquiry and I think we must now go ahead on the lines already settled Menon is I understand preparing material for a more detailed study of Pakistan and the other outstanding issues I quite agree with George Abell that by the time the elections[2] are finished our own ideas must be clear and HMG must know how far they can and should go in overruling recalcitrant parties or meeting the Pakistan demand

E M JENKINS
29-9-45

We must clear our minds and those of HMG on the Pakistan issue as early as possible, but I agree that George [Abell]'s proposed committee will not do

W[AVELL]
30/9[/45]

[1]See No XII 13

[2]Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly were held in November-December 1945 and the ML won all the thirty Muslim seats For Provincial Assemblies, elections were completed by April 1946 and the ML won 439 out of a total of 494 Muslim seats i e 88 8% The ML had fought the elections on Pakistan issue See Z H Zaidi, 'Aspects of the Development of Muslim League Policy, 1937-47 in Philips and Wainwright, eds , *The Partition of India, Policies and Perspectives 1935 1947*, London, 1970, p 272 Also see No XIII 3

Reforms Office from the Government of India to his own Secretariat If there are to be any contacts with political leaders, the policy has been either for the Viceroy himself to interview them or for the P S V to see them on behalf of the Viceroy It is my view that this is the procedure which is most acceptable to Indian public opinion and that Indian leaders would prefer to have contacts direct with H E rather than through an intermediary

4 H E 's contacts with political leaders at the time of the Simla Conference undoubtedly created a considerable amount of goodwill throughout the country, and I feel sure that this is going to be an asset of very great value to us in the talks which H E will have with representatives of the Provincial Legislatures after the general elections I cannot but think that the appointment of a Constitutional Adviser, however eminent, will detract from this and for this reason alone I would strongly deprecate a suggestion of this nature. This is definitely a case where too many cooks will spoil the broth

5 On the second question regarding the desirability of some authoritative announcement to set at rest the growing fears of the minorities in the Pakistan Provinces, my views are as follows When the question was discussed in the Cabinet Committee when H E was in London, Sir Stafford Cripps suggested that a referendum of the whole population would be preferable, but H E made it clear that the Muslims and the Sikhs would refuse to accept that principle There was then some discussion as to whether any steps should be taken to make it clear that the Muslim League claim that the issue should be settled by the vote of the Muslim community only could not be entertained Certain members of the Committee wanted this to be included in the statement which H E proposed to make along with the H M G 's declaration On the other hand others felt that it was too important to be dealt with in that manner In the end H E said that if it were proved that difficulty and misunderstanding were arising on this issue the opportunity of some public statement should be taken by him to make the position clear

6 The Muslim League election propaganda is based on the issue of Pakistan In other words they claim that if the Muslim community votes in favour of the Muslim League at the next general elections, the League will be entitled to ask for Pakistan to be constituted on the basis of the existing Provinces without any further investigation or plebiscite The issue therefore is what H M G 's intentions are with respect to this broad claim that the issue of Province-wise Pakistan is to be decided upon the vote of the Muslim community There is no

speakers are apparently saying that these elections will decide whether there is to be Pakistan or not, and that if the League win in the Pakistan Provinces no further vote by the legislature or plebiscite will be needed Statements of this kind cause considerable alarm not only to the Muslim Unionists but to the Hindus and Sikhs, and I am taking advice on the possibility of an announcement by you—perhaps in reply to an arranged question in Parliament on H M G 's attitude We clearly could not agree to permit any Province to stand out of the new constitution, or to secede at a later stage, on the result of elections to the Provincial Assembly or of a purely Muslim plebiscite The question is not an easy one, and I will telegraph or write to you about it separately when I have made up my mind If it is decided to make a statement on the subject in Parliament, it would not be necessary for me to pursue it in my Calcutta speech [2]

[WAVELL]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 157, pp 377-378
[2]See No XII 14

XII.25

Note by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 104-A

22 October 1945

H E

I referred to Mr Menon for opinion Mr Panikkar's paper entitled THE NEXT STEP IN INDIA,[1] and took the opportunity at the same time of asking his views on the desirability of an announcement about Pakistan His opinion is below

2 I agree with him that Mr Panikkar's proposal for a Constitutional Adviser is unsuitable and need not be considered further In Indian conditions the Viceroy has to reply for advice on controversial politics on permanent officials, and the introduction of non-officials, who would inevitably have party prejudices or affiliations of some kind, would not help

3 On the Pakistan issue, Mr Menon is in favour of an announcement The decision is not easy for we have to balance against the advantage of reassuring the minorities the disadvantage of alienating Jinnah and the Muslim League I have tried to summarize the case in a draft[2] to the Sec[retar]y of State I have come to the conclusion that an announcement is desirable provided that we remember that the Draft Declaration of

At the same time, I am of opinion that this will be represented, with some reason, as an instance of H M G 's tendency to foster division by shifting its weight from time to time from the Congress side to the Muslim League side in this instance the weight is thrown against the Muslim League This sort of accusation is inevitable so long as the only two Big Ideas are (1) Unified India and (2) Pakistan, both of them to my mind impracticable

J A T[HORNE]
24 10[45]

XII.29

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 108-110A[1]

SECRET
No 592/14[2] *25 October 1945*

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2 The Muslim League are preparing to fight the elections, both central and provincial on the Pakistan issue, and their speakers have made it clear that by Pakistan they mean in the North-West the present provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, and the Punjab, and in the North-East the present provinces of Bengal and Assam In view of Jinnah's repeated statements that the decision of any Province to join Pakistan is to be based on a plebiscite of the Muslims only, the minorities in the Pakistan Provinces believe that if Jinnah's definition of Pakistan is accepted, they will be compelled to become subjects of a Muslim State During my recent visit to the Punjab I found considerable uneasiness about this, especially as the attitude of the Muslim League seems to be that the forthcoming elections will decide the matter once and for all, and that when they are over, Pakistan will become an immediate reality

3 I have considered carefully the desirability of making a statement to reassure the minorities, who, in the absence of some comfort of this kind, may become dangerously heated The decision is not an easy one, because the discussions which I am to undertake after the elections are to be based on the Draft Declaration of 1942, and it would clearly be most unwise to say anything now which appears to modify it In so far as the Muslim League contemplate the separation from the

XII.30

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell
IOR,R/3/1/105 f 103-A[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET *2 November 1945*

3 I have just received your separate letter[2] about the proposed question and answer on our attitude to Pakistan to which you refer in paragraph 8 I will consider this as speedily as I can

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 184, p 430
[2]No XII 29

XII.31

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 115-117[1]

SECRET INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL,
9 November 1945

Dear Wavell,

I have given most careful thought to the proposal in your letter No 592/14 of 25th October[2] that we should make a statement in reply to an arranged question in Parliament, to make it clear that the right of a province not to enter the Indian Union contemplated in the 1942 Declaration[3] would not be exercised by the vote of a single community in that Province

I fully appreciate the arguments which you put forward and the danger of the electorate being misled by the Muslim League I do not, however, feel that Jinnah could legitimately accuse us of allowing him to make a false assumption in this connection We have said nothing to justify him in asserting that we accept his views on this subject and one of the points which the Muslim League made in their resolution rejecting the Cripps' offer was that it did not provide for the option to be exercised on a plebiscite of Muslims only

I am afraid I have come quite clearly to the conclusion that it would be mistaken to make a pronouncement of the kind which you propose In our discussions when you were at home, you emphasised the great

H E

I think S[ecretary] of S[tate] is perhaps right

W[AVELL]
15/11/45

Copy to Mr Menon for comments

G [E B ABELL]
15/11[45]

Copy sent to R[ao] B[ahadur] V P Menon on 16 11 45 for comments

[OFFICE]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 202, pp 466-467
[2]No XII 29
[3]No II 1
[4]Wavell in his broadcast of 19 September 1945 had delineated HMG's policy on elections to Central and Provincial Legislatures, convening of a Constitution-making body and the formation of a new Executive Council See *TP*, VI, No 116, pp 282-283

XII.32

Note by George Abell

IOR, R/3/105 f 121

21 November 1945

Y[our] E[xcellency] suggested in your letter to the Sec[retar]y of State of the 25th October [1945][1] that there might be an arranged question and answer in Parliament to the effect that the right of any province to refuse to accept a new Indian Constitution would not be exercised by the vote of a single community The Sec[retar]y of State in his reply of the 9th Nov[embe]r[2] expressed doubts about this proposal, and Y[our] E[xcellency] at the time noted "I think S[ecretary] of S[tate] is perhaps right" Mr Menon's advice was asked for, and he also agrees that the proposal should be dropped Draft to Sec[retar]y of State for approval

(G E B ABELL)
21 11 1945

Approved Should we let Glancy know?

W[AVELL]
21/11/45

Issue and note for next letter to Punjab

G [E B ABELL]
21/11[45]

[1]No XII 29
[2]No XII 31

XII.35

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 137[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/TOP SECRET

11 January 1946

2 I think it will be important that you should let us have as soon as possible, your actual proposals for defining the genuinely Muslim areas, if that should become necessary They will need a lot of thinking about

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 351, p 775

XII.36

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 136[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET

15 January 1946

6 I send with this letter a note of a conversation between Jinnah and Wyatt[2] of the M Ps Delegation [3] This is interesting evidence of Jinnah's uncompromising attitude though of course it is possible that what he says is intended only as a preliminary bid In any case the reported conversation shows very clearly that I must know my ground before I start discussions about the composition of the new Executive Council

7 There is also some evidence, provided again by Wyatt, as to the probable attitude of Nehru Wyatt had a four-hour discussion with Nehru on the 10th January [1946], in which Nehru conceded that the British Government might have to declare for Pakistan but said that there must be a plebiscite in border districts to confirm it He did not accept the present election results as sufficient, since he maintained that Muslims did not know what they were voting for Granted, however, (a) a plebiscite, and (b) territorial readjustments so that solid blocks of Hindu territory were not included, he accepted Pakistan Nehru added that if negotiations broke down Congress would start the biggest-ever

Annex II to No XII 37

Cabinet
India and Burma Committee I B (45) 5th Meeting

L/P & J/10/20 ff 5362[1]

[Extract]

10 DOWNING STREET, S W 1,
11 September 1945, 3pm

FUTURE OF NON-ACCEDING PROVINCES

The Committee took note[2] that in the declaration of 1942 the right of any Province of British India that was not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it was desirable, had been accepted The declaration had also recorded that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to agree with any non-acceding Provinces which might so desire upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA pointed out the practical difficulty of the situation that might result if three or four Provinces were to stand out For how long was such a state of affairs to continue? Presumably at that point the Provinces which had acquired Dominion status would fall to be handled by the Dominions Office and by a separate form of Government? It would, on the other hand, presumably be necessary to retain the Viceroy, and the whole machinery of the Government of India, temporarily in respect of the balance It would also clearly be necessary to retain the Crown Representative in respect of such States as might decide not to accede?

LORD WAVELL agreed with the Secretary of State and illustrated the intricacy of the administrative problems which would arise by the example of the railways

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE suggested that the period for which it would be necessary to retain special arrangements for non-acceding Provinces need not necessarily be so very long We should proceed to call a Constituent Assembly to cover their case once the situation arose

After further discussion *The Committee* accepted the force of the difficulties referred to by the Secretary of State for India, but felt that they must be faced

[1]*TP*, VI, No 105, pp 256-257
[2]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

recommendations as regards definition of genuine Muslim areas if we are compelled to give a decision on this and also your proposals as regards the treaty on which I understand your officials have been at work Time is getting very short and if*[4] proposed Mission is to have as much freedom of negotiation as I should* like it will be desirable for them to have discussed these issues particularly with others here before leaving I hope therefore that you can let us have your views on both these matters, at any rate within a fortnight

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

(1) We can do easily enough
(2) may be difficult, I will ask R[eforms] C[ommissioner] to advise

G E B ABELL
30 1 [1946]

H E
We have been working on a Treaty for some time past and surely ought to be able to give an outline

W[AVELL]
30 1 [1946]

Copy sent to R[ao] B[ahadur] Menon with d o

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 387, pp 860-861
[2]No 2090 is also mentioned in the Telegram besides No 248-S
[3]"TOO" i e Time of Origin is mentioned as 2256 and "TOR" i e Time of Receipt 0945
[4]Asterisks in the original

XII.43

George Abell to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 146

TOP SECRET
No 592/14 *30 January 1946*

My dear Menon,

I enclose a copy of a telegram[1] just received from the Secretary of State

2 H E would like to send off his note about the definition of genuinely Moslem areas in the next two or three days I hope you will be able to reply by then to my queries about local option and about Sylhet District

truncated Pakistan, will be unable to look after its own defence, and we shall therefore be unable to answer the question satisfactorily without further investigation It is for this reason that we consider the question of a plebiscite premature at this stage

3 All that can be said at this stage is that whatever kind of Pakistan may ultimately emerge, certain areas will most probably be left out of it if the principle of self-determination is applied The note sent to you on the 23rd instant[6] may be taken as an indication of the probabilities of the case As you point out, before a final decision can be taken in the matter, some kind of plebiscite may have to be held, not only for the border areas, but also for others, for it is conceivable that even the N W F P may vote against Pakistan for financial reasons For the purposes of H E's "breakdown plan" it is perhaps unnecessary to go beyond an indication of the probable decision

4 I recognize however, that Jinnah himself may force the issue, when he is informed of the two principles enunciated in H E's "breakdown plan" Jinnah may ask—"Assuming that I accept these principles, will H M G grant the Pakistan areas the status of an independent Dominion, even in matters of Defence and External Affairs?" This is really the hardest question that arises in this connection The problem of demarcation in a manner satisfactory to Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims is difficult enough, but the harder question is whether, when we have made the demarcation, we are in a position to promise independent Dominion status to the demarcated areas

5 *Your letter of the 29th Jan* [7] What we proposed in the note on the "Demarcation of Pakistan areas" sent to you on the 23rd instant[8] was what we considered the most convenient basis of demarcation Other lines of demarcation are doubtless possible For example, Sylhet, which is a predominantly Muslim district, can on that account be included in Pakistan, but this will raise the question whether Assam minus Sylhet can continue as a Governor's Province It was in order to avoid this question that we left Sylhet out The Province of Assam taken as a whole is of course predominantly non-Muslim so that there can be no question of including the whole of it in Pakistan

6 *Your letter of the 30th Jan* [9] A draft of the proposed Treaty so far as it relates to Defence, External Affairs, Protection of Services and Relations with Indian States is ready It is of course only a first attempt in an unexplored region and will have to be examined by the Departments concerned So far as the Protection of Minorities is concerned, a good deal of material has been collected to work it into the draft will not be possible until there is some sort of indication as to the form of

XII.47

George Abell to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 155

TOP SECRET

No 592/14 *4 February 1946*

My dear Menon,

Would it be reasonable, at a pinch, to ask the Muslim MLAs of Sind, the N W F P and the Punjab to meet together and consider whether the Muslims really want Pakistan?

Could such a method of local option be justified in spite of the existence of a non-League Ministry in Sind and (prospectively) a Congress Ministry in the N W F P ?

If it could, the reason would, I suppose, be that owing to the composition of the provinces and the weightage given to minorities the Muslim League have no chance of showing their real strength in any of the three legislatures in question

I should be grateful for your views and those of Sir B N Rau—you will remember I raised the matter on Friday And perhaps you could get your office to prepare a statement showing how the Muslim representation in these three legislatures compares with the proportion of Muslims in the population

From the projected meeting we should, I suppose, have to exclude any Muslim MLA's elected from the divisions and districts of the Punjab which are earmarked for "Hindustan"

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

XII.48

Francis Turnbull to George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 156

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL,

TOP SECRET *4 February 1946*

Dear Abell,

Mr Arthur Moore[1] has sent to the Secretary of State recently the enclosed notes[2] of a conversation he had had with Mr Jinnah on the

22nd January I rather gather that Mr Moore has not informed the Viceroy about this conversation as he left Delhi very soon afterwards, but as copies have been supplied to the Secretary of State and other Ministers here I think His Excellency ought to have a copy of the report

Yours sincerely,
F F TURNBULL

[1]Editor of the *Statesman*, Calcutta, 1933-42
[2]Enclosure

Enclosure to No XII 48

Notes of a Conversation held by Arthur Moore with Jinnah at his house

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 157-159B[1]

NEW DELHI,
22 January 1946

[Para 1 omitted]

[2] We then discussed the possibility of progress this year in the constitutional field I reminded Mr Jinnah that on the last occasion when we had talked (in Calcutta early in 1942) he had told me that if within the limits on the present constitution, Lord Linlithgow would offer some real power to a coalition war government he would be very willing to serve He replied at once

"Yes, that is true and I meant it too But that was for the war All that is finished The Congress and the League could not work together now in the same government so long as the issue of Pakistan divides us "

[3]. I mentioned that the Congress had repeatedly said that they were prepared to serve in such an interim government under his[2] leadership during the constitution making period Mr Jinnah replied that that was complete humbug Congressmen always insisted that such a government should be responsible to the legislature, that meant that the legislature could turn out the government, and unless the non-Congress members toed the Congress line such a government would be quickly overthrown It would not work at all "We should be fighting like Kilkenny cats[3] all the time "

[Paras 4 to 8 omitted]

[9] [Mr Jinnah said]" If the British and the Congress were to recognise the verdict and accept the principle of Pakistan the whole

XII.51

George Abell to John Thorne

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 164-A

TOP SECRET

No 592/14 *5 February 1946*

My dear Sir John,

I enclose a tentative draft[1] about demarcation of the Pakistan areas I think H E will want to send off this telegram today, and I shall be grateful if you will let me know whether you have any comments

Yours sincerely,

G E B ABELL

[1]See Enclosure to No XII 50

XII.52

V P Menon to George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 170-172

TOP SECRET

NEW DELHI,

5 February 1946

My dear Abell,

Please refer to your d o letter[1] No 592/14 of the 4th instant The main objection I see to your plan of summoning the Muslim MLA's of Sind, the N W F P and the Punjab to decide the question of Pakistan is that Mr Jinnah may construe this as an attempt to go behind his back

2 You asked for the figures of the Muslim representation in the three Legislatures of Sind, the N W F P and the Punjab They are as follows -

	Percentage of Muslim Population	Percentage of Communal Seats held in the Assembly
Punjab	57 07	49 14
Sind	70 74	56 67
N W F P	91 79	72 00

The Lucknow Pact[2] gave weightage to Muslims in the Provinces in which they were in a minority As against this, the non-Muslims were

4 In para 8 of the draft telegram you suggest that the decision whether or not to insist on a separate constitution-making body for Pakistan might reasonably be left to a meeting of the Muslim MLA's of the areas concerned and go on to say that the eastern and western zones would have to sit separately I should however like to point out that the question of setting up a separate constitution-making body will not arise until HMG have decided the preliminary question whether Pakistan as now proposed to be demarcated will have the status of an independent Dominion in all matters including Defence and External Affairs Unless this question is first decided in the affirmative, there will be no occasion for summoning a separate constitution-making body Your suggestion therefore implies that HMG have already decided the preliminary question The point seems to be so important that we must call HMG's attention to the full implications of the present suggestion It must be remembered that the Pakistan now proposed is much more truncated than the one considered by Coupland The problem of Defence and External Affairs therefore arises in a more acute form under the present proposals than under the Coupland plan

5 If HMG not only accept the demarcation now proposed but also decide that they would be prepared to recognize the Pakistan so demarcated as a separate independent dominion for all purposes, then, and only then, would the question of a separate constitution-making body for the demarcated areas arise Assuming that the objection which I have mentioned to your plan is not considered serious, presumably the meeting of the MLA's will be called by the Governor-General, since you contemplate a zonal basis for the meeting There would be about 130 members from the western zone, I suggest that a quieter manner of ascertaining their views would be for each Governor to summon them to a conference, ascertain their opinions, and transmit them to the Governor-General If H E agrees, I suggest that paragraphs 8 and 9 of your draft telegram be suitably modified

6 I am sending herewith the first draft of the proposed Treaty so far as it relates to Defence, External Affairs, Protection of Crown servants and Relations with Indian States The Finance Department are not yet ready with their proposals so far as "Financial obligations between the U K and India" are concerned They have promised Rau to let him have these the day after tomorrow Rau is at present working on the "Provisions relating to Minorities" and will have the first draft ready tomorrow All these, of course, are only first drafts and will require to

awkward but there is no solution that avoids all such difficulties

3 Greatest difficulty is position of the Sikhs with their homelands and sacred places on both sides of the border This problem is one which no version of Pakistan can solve

4 The population figures that follow are in thousands The Punjab including Punjab States has a Sikh population of 5,116 Of these under proposed scheme 1,461 will be in Pakistan and the rest in Hindustan Of those in Pakistan a substantial number are in districts which under any arrangement are bound to be in Pakistan e g Rawalpindi (64) and colony districts of Lyallpur (263) and Montgomery (175) [1]

5 We should make it clear in any announcement that this is only an indication of areas to which in H M G 's view the Muslims can advance a reasonable claim, modifications in the boundary might be negotiated and no doubt the interests of the Sikhs in particular could be carefully considered in such negotiation Some such saving clause is indicated by the importance of preventing immediate violence by the Sikhs

7 [*sic*] In Bengal the three Muslim majority districts of the Presidency Division must I think be included in Pakistan, though this brings the frontier across the Ganges The demarcation includes in Pakistan all Muslim majority districts and no Hindu majority districts

8 There is no case, consistently with the principle suggested in the breakdown plan, for including Calcutta in Pakistan The Muslims will probably try to negotiate for its being made a free port If the negotiations fail Eastern Bengal's prospects as a separate autonomous State will be seriously affected But the Muslims if they insist on Pakistan, must face up to this problem like that of the Sikhs, and they may have to agree to some sort of a centre in exchange for making Calcutta a free port This would be a welcome development

9 The population figures of Pakistan[3] on this demarcation would be (in thousands)

	East Zone	*West Zone*
Muslims	30,602	18,210
Non-Muslims	14,482	5,666
Total	40,084	23,843

10 Treaty Rau's first draft on Defence, External Affairs, Protection of Crown servants and Relations with Indian States is being sent by the next fast air mail bag Sections on Minorities and Finance will follow shortly

[WAVELL]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 406, pp 912-913

In his telegram Pethick Lawrence had asked Wavell for a definition of genuinely Muslim areas and proposals for a Treaty See No XII 42

These figures were subsequently amended See No XII 57

regard to your announcement[5] about the visit of the Members of the Parliament to India and also a copy of the Viceroy's speech addressed to the Central Assembly dated the 28th January[6] and my reaction[7] to it, for your information

Thanking you for your good wishes for the season which I reciprocate, hoping you are well and with very kind regards

Yours sincerely,
[M A JINNAH]

[1]Also available in *IOR*, R/3/1/105 ff 191-192 and *TP*, VI Annexure I to No 444, pp 1011-1012

[2]Pethick-Lawrence had written to Jinnah as well as to Azad In his letter to Azad, Pethick-Lawrence had stated that contact between individuals in UK and India would be advantageous He reported that a delegation of Members of Parliament was to visit India He hoped that Azad will meet the delegation to discuss various matters with them A similar letter was sent to Jinnah See *TP*, VI, No 308, p 673 and No 324, p 720

[3]In his statement issued on 8 August 1940, the Governor-General had assured "that full weight" will "be given to the views of minorities", as "that remains the position of His Majesty's Government" and that they would not be a party "to the coercion of such elements into submission" to a Government "whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life " See *TP*, I, Appendix I, pp 877-879

[4]Jinnah had stated that a permanent settlement was possible on the basis of Pakistan "which is the major issue, and the only solution of India's constitutional problem" as admitted by Cripps to the effect that no agreement was possible till Pakistan issue was solved Jinnah added that Muslim India will not accept framing of a Constitution by only "one Constitution-making body for all India in which Musalmans will be in a hopeless minority and the conclusions are foregone in such an assembly " See *TP*, VI, Annexure II to No 444, pp 1012-1013

[5]On 4 December 1945, Pethick-Lawrence announced that with a view to apprise themselves of the views of Indian leaders, a Parliamentary delegation will visit India soon See *TP*, VI, Annexure I to No 247, pp 561-562

[6]The Viceroy in his speech to the Central Legislature had referred to HMG's determination to establish a new Executive Council, a Constitution making body or Convention on priority basis See *TP*, VI, Annexure III to No 444, pp 1013-1015

[7]Jinnah had reiterated that without acceptance of Pakistan, no solution of Indian problem was possible, as admitted by Cripps, and AIML will not agree to any interim Central Government or one Constituent Assembly and that bitterness during elections was mainly created by the Congress by interfering with Muslim voters See *TP*, VI, Annexure IV to No 444, pp 1015-1016

XII.55

Note by George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 181A

14 February 1946

I think it will be a good thing if in a month's time H E wrote to Sir

therefore, that you will agree to our working for an agreement on the basis of Scheme B if this seems to us to be the only chance of agreed settlement We should of course, ourselves prefer something on lines of Scheme A but this may prove impossible of attainment

We have to see Jinnah on Tuesday and should like your reply not later than Sunday night if you can manage this

The Viceroy in his responsibility as Governor-General after consultation with the Commander-in-Chief fully agrees

T[IME] O[F] O[RIGIN] 111025

Copies to

Mr Turnbull (2)
Mr Blaker[2]
Mr Mottershead[3]
Mr Abell (3 copies)
Sir Wm Croft[4]

[1]Also see *TP*, VII, No 86, pp 220-221
[2]George Blaker, Principal Private Secretary to President of the Board of Trade
[3]Frank William Mottershead, Principal Private Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty
[4]William Dawson Croft, Deputy Under Secretary of State, India Office

XII.65

Clement Attlee to Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wavell

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 200-201[1]

TOP SECRET/PERSONAL
MOST IMMEDIATE [*13 April 1946*]
CABIN NO 8

Following for Cabinet Delegation and Viceroy from Prime Minister

Cabinet considered your Index 14[2] and agreed that, while Scheme A[3] is preferable, you may work for agreement on basis of Scheme B[4] if it seems to be the only chance of an agreed settlement I send you in paragraphs 2 to 7 the views of the Chiefs of Staff for your information and for use in the discussion

2. An agreement involving a loose all-India federation is far better than Scheme B We recognise however that this may be impossible of achievement The alternative of Scheme B in spite of the disadvantages

listed below is better than no agreement at all as this would lead to widespread chaos

3 The disadvantages of Scheme B are as follows Pakistan lies across the two entrances to India from Peshawar to the sea in the West and from the Himalayas to the sea in the East In her lands would lie the responsibility to bar or open the road into Hindustan Air bases from which India can be attacked lie in Soviet Central Asia and in Western China The easiest and quickest routes to the large cities of India from these bases lie over the territories of Pakistan, both in the West and East of India Similarly the air bases from which counter-measures can be taken lie mainly in Pakistan It can therefore be said that the territory of Pakistan is vital to the defence of India as a whole

4 Scheme B would destroy the homogeneity of the Indian army which is now strong and well-equipped and it charged with the defence of all India There would evolve the forces of Pakistan, the forces of Hindustan and the forces of the many Indian States, each weak, each with its own tactical ideas Even if all were acting in common for the defence of India co-operation would be far from easy unless all acknowledged a central directing Authority

5 To operate effectively the communications of Hindustan and Pakistan must supplement each other as they were designed to do Again central control is essential

6 In Pakistan there is almost no industrial development Karachi is at the end of a long and vulnerable railway and Chittagong is in a similarly exposed position To fight a war Pakistan must rely on Hindustan for producing a part of the warlike stores required and for importing and transporting the rest Without a central authority this could not be possible

7 In the case of Pakistan(West) it seems likely that she would tend to identify her interests more with the Muslim lands of Central Asia, weak, unstable and exposed though they may be (Corrupt Group) [than] with Hindustan This might well lead to Pakistan being involved in wars not properly of vital importance to Hindustan, nor to India as a whole For she might through fear engendered by her own weakness uncover the vitals of India by not resisting on the natural battleground of the hills of the Indian frontier

8 To sum up, Scheme B will have to be accepted if the only alternative is complete failure to reach agreement and consequent chaos But India will be confronted by grave dangers as a result of this partition, and, if Scheme B has to be adopted, every effort should be made to

obtain agreement for some form of central defence council to be set up which will include not only Pakistan, Hindustan and the Indian States, but also Burma and Ceylon

Time of Receipt 2330 hrs 13 April 1946

Dist[ri]b[utio]n
Lord Pethick-Lawrence
Sir W[illia]m Croft
Mr Turnbull,
Mr Mottershead
Mr Blaker
Mr Abell (3 Copies)

I D SCOTT
14/4[/46]

H E
This is quite sensible
W[AVELL]

[1]Also see *TP*, VII, No 105, pp 260-261
[2, 3 & 4]See No XII 64

XII.66

Text of Resolution passed by AICC

IOR, R/3/1/129 ff 123-124[1]

[NEW DELHI],
6 JANUARY 1947

The A I C C having considered events that have taken place in the country since the Meerut Session of the Congress in November last[2] the statement issued by the British Government on the 6th December 1946,[3] and the statement of the Working Committee of the 22nd December 1946,[4] advises Congressmen as follows

(1) The A I C C endorses the statement of the Working Committee of the 22nd December 1946, and expresses its agreement with the views contained therein

(2) While the Congress has always been agreeable to making a reference to the Federal Court, on the question of interpretation in dispute, such a reference has become purposeless and undesirable owing to the recent announcements made on behalf of the British

XII.67

THE PUNJAB PROBLEM[1]

By

Evan Jenkins

The population of the Punjab according to the census of 1941 is distributed approximately as follows —

Commissioners Division	*Muslims*	*Non-Muslims*
	(Round millions)	
1 Rawalpindi }		
2 Multan }	9	2
3 Lahore	4	3
4 Jullundur }		
5 Ambala }	3	7
	16	12
	28	

The Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions may fairly be described as Muslim country, and the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions as non-Muslim country The Lahore Division is common ground, it has a Muslim majority, but it includes a great part of the Sikh "Holy Land" and economic interests which are largely non-Muslim

2 It is evident that no one community can rule the Punjab with its present boundaries except by conquest There has been so much talk about "civil war" that it is worth considering what its consequences would be

In the first place it would cause misery and suffering on a scale unknown in the Punjab for more than a century

Secondly, it might, and probably would, destroy the Punjab economically The Punjab as we know it is largely an artificial creation of Irrigation Engineers During a period of anarchy our vast canal system would not be maintained and parts of it might be deliberately destroyed Without it we could support perhaps two-thirds of our 1947 population, which must be roughly 30 million

Thirdly, it would be inconclusive It is unlikely that any one community could conquer and hold the entire Punjab, and the result of a "civil war" would in fact be a partition, the parties to which would

which geographically, economically, linguistically and socially there is no justification whatever Subjects of the Muslim State will doubtless have to produce passports and undergo Customs examination on entering the non-Muslim State and *vice versa,* although many of them will own property and have near relations on both sides of the frontier

(3) Lahore must go to one State or the other—it cannot be in both But Lahore has been created by all Punjabis and not by Muslims or non-Muslims alone

(4) The non-Muslim State will have the lion's share of our power resources, the Muslim State will inherit the colony districts which are a joint creation of all Punjabis over half a century

(5) We shall have reduced what might be a powerful country to two petty States incapable of real economic development, overloaded with overhead charges, and useful only as "buffers" between the rest of India and the outer world

Partition solves no problems and does not really make sense

5 Let us revert therefore to alternative (ii) a United Punjab

This is not impossible of achievement provided we think as Punjabis, and put our own safety and welfare first It is sometimes said that this condition cannot be satisfied, since the Muslim League and the Congress must take orders from their respective High Commands, leaving the Sikhs as the only independent community capable of thinking and acting as Punjabis To an impartial observer it would seem that this contention is now incorrect By the end of June 1948 one of two things will have happened—a Central Government will have been formed or agreed upon by the Muslim League and the Congress, or there will be (so far as the Punjab is concerned) a vacuum at the Centre In both these positions the only Government suited to a United Punjab is a Coalition supported, if not by all, at least by a large proportion of Punjabis Such a Coalition could "tune in" to a Central Government formed by the Muslim League and the Congress, equally it could administer the Punjab independently if it were called upon to do so

6 If we are to form such a coalition, we must first be clear on certain basic principles

(i) The Muslims must be prepared to negotiate with the non-Muslims as Punjabis, and must be authorised to take their own decisions, further they must recognize that the non-Muslims can reasonably ask for guarantees about their long-term future in the Punjab

(ii) The non-Muslims on their part must recognize that the Muslims are the majority community, and must in certain matters take the lead—not by reason of personal superiority but on account of their

21st February[4] Viceroy's recollection is that Nehru's argument was on lines that HMG has recognised that large bodies cannot be compelled into a constitution against their will, and that it was only logical that large minorities inside a Province e g the Hindus in Bengal and the Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab could also not be compelled into an unacceptable constitution There was some argument on the interpretation of "parts of the country" in the last paragraph of the Statement of December 6th Nehru argued that "parts of the country" could mean "parts of a Province" Viceroy said that that was certainly not the intention of HMG and did not override the original statement in which existing Provinces were treated as a whole Viceroy added that if the statement of the AICC was merely meant to emphasize the obvious truth that any constitution, Provincial, Group or Central, could only be formed with the consent of the great majority of the people, Congress should say so, but that if it implied that a part of a Province could secede during the process of constitution-making, this was entirely inconsistent with the acceptance of the Mission's Plan Viceroy added that it was up to the Congress to make their intentions clear to the League Viceroy does not remember any definite arguments about the Rules of Procedure

[1]Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for India
[2]*TP*, IX, No 475, p 828
[3]Harris informed Abell that Pethick-Lawrence felt no need to reply to Nehru's letter for the present See *TP*, IX, No 461, note 3, p 812
[4]See Annex II to No 16

XII.69

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, L/P&J/8/663 ff 295-296[1]

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

INDIA OFFICE,
5 March 1947, 11 55 pm

No 3021. Your telegram 408-S[2] Punjab situation

[*Paras 1 and 2 omitted*]

3 I will consider with my colleagues as soon as possible position in regard to partition of Punjab Obvious difficulty is that such a decision trenches on field of Constituent Assembly but it may be unavoidable It is desirable if possible to avoid discussion on that basis until after meetings of Congress and Muslim League Working Committees

[4] Crucial question appears to be attitude of Sikhs Please let me have

in consultation with Jenkins your suggestions as to character of such a partition which I assume would only be necessary if Sikhs could not otherwise be satisfied On a long-term view best solution would be Sikh/ Muslim League agreement giving Sikhs assurances as to their long-term position May it not be desirable to try and secure this before contemplating partition?

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]TP, IX, No 495, pp 872-873
[2]Not printed

XII.70

Jawaharlal Nehru to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/89 ff 60-61[1]

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
9 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

[Paras 1 and 2 omitted]

3 The present position is that any attempt to set up a Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab in the circumstances will not only give rise to grave apprehensions in the minds of the Sikhs, Hindus and certain others in the Punjab, but also lead to conflict Indeed it has led to conflict on a severe scale already, and recent events have made the position worse This apprehension and conflict are obviously due to the fact that the Muslim League openly want to make the whole of the Punjab a Pakistan area and wish to use a League Ministry to that end

4 As I have written to you separately,[2] a proper and fair solution of this difficulty appears to be the division of the Punjab into a predominantly Muslim area and a predominantly non-Muslim area The Congress has recommended this and I understand that the Sikhs are also agreeable to it and indeed desire it

5 I earnestly hope that no steps will be taken in the Punjab which may add to the apprehensions of the non-Muslim League elements in the Province If any such thing is done it can only lead to trouble

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]TP, IX, No 514, pp 906-907
[2]See No 19

XII.74

Certain Members of the Indian Legislature from the Punjab to Pandit Nehru

R/3/1/157 f 213[1]

2 April 1947

Sir,

We, the undersigned Members of the Central Legislature from the Punjab, beg to submit the following for favour of forwarding the same with your endorsement to H E the Viceroy and to H M G for their urgent consideration and immediate action thereon

Unfortunately, the relations between the Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Punjab were already much strained due to the agitation carried on by the Muslim League for Pakistan, but the recent tragic happenings in North-Western Punjab have very rudely shaken the confidence of the Hindu and the Sikh minorities in the belief that there will be any fair deal for them at the hands of the Muslims in future

The Muslims and Non-Muslims are almost equally balanced and no government can carry on without the support of the three communities Fortunately the population of the Province is so divided that there are distinct and contiguous areas where Muslims and Non-Muslims predominate We have given our anxious and deep thought to this problem after considering all its pros and cons We have come to the conclusion that the only way out of the present dead-lock is to partition the Punjab into two Provinces That and that alone, in our view, can ease the tension in the Province which may increase at any moment We further venture to add that it is no longer a long term constitutional issue, but an urgent and immediate administrative problem which should have first priority Effective steps may, therefore, be taken forthwith to constitute two Provinces out of the present Punjab by passing an *Order-in-Council*[2] or by any other way which may be found suitable We are fully convinced that Partition is the only solution of this vexed problem

We are, Sir,
Your most obedient servants,

(1) PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA, MLA
(2) RAIZADA HANS RAJ, MLA
(3) DIWAN CHAMAN LALL, MLA
(4) SARDAR MANGAL SINGH, MLA

Enclosure to No XII 75

16E, FEROZ SHAH ROAD, NEW DELHI,
2 April 1947

PROPOSED CREATION OF A SEPARATE AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE IN BENGAL WITHIN THE INDIAN UNION

We the undersigned Members of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State from Bengal,[1] deem it our duty to make the following statement on the proposed creation of a separate autonomous province in Bengal

2. We have carefully considered the situation in the country as it has developed during the last ten years The absolute majority of the Muslim Members in the Bengal Legislature has enabled them to completely communalise the entire field of administration in the province, with the result that the cultural and economic life of the minorities has been systematically undermined Besides, the Muslim League Ministry, by adopting the most inefficient, corrupt and reckless methods has well nigh brought the administration of the province to the verge of collapse and disaster

3 The events which have taken place since August last have brought things to a head Criminal misdeeds on an extensive scale, such as arson, murder, plunder, rape, abduction, forced conversion, marriage under compulsion, desecration of places of worship, and destruction of property, committed by the supporters of the Muslim League in Calcutta and various places in the country-side with the consent or connivance of the communal Government in power, have brought us face to face with the outstanding realities of the situation The time has, therefore, come for us to consider what measures are necessary to be taken immediately for protecting the life, honour, liberty, religion, education, culture, language and economic interests of the Hindus and other nationalists of Bengal

4 The urgency of the matter has been further emphasised by the announcement of the British Government of the 20th February last to the effect that British Rule would come to an end by the 30th June, 1948 and that power would be handed over before that date either to some form of "Central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people" As the Muslim League has repeatedly declared that nothing short of a sovereign Pakistan would be acceptable to them, their demand includes the transfer of the whole of Bengal to its administration as an

XII.76

Kalipada Mookerjee to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/24

115-E, DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA,
6 April 1947

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution adopted at the meeting of the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee [BPCC] held on 4th April, 1947 at Kumar Singh Hall, Calcutta, regarding the question of partition of Bengal and the formation of regime and ministry in Bengal in the interim period in the interest of nationalist element and the minority community of Bengal Hope Your Excellency will be pleased to take necessary action in the matter

Yours faithfully,
KALIPADA MOOKERJEE,
Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

His Excellency the Viceroy
and Governor-General of India,
New Delhi

Enclosure to No XII 76

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION HAS BEEN PASSED
BY THE BPCC EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

4 April 1947

1 The Executive Committee of the BPCC believes that India has a fundamental unity geographically, culturally, ethnically and politically and that in the present international setting maintenance of this unity is vitally necessary for the defence of India and for her proper future development so that India can play her due and rightful role in the Comity of Nations

[*Two sub-paras omitted*]

TRANSFER OF POWER

This Committee while welcoming HMG's decision to transfer power

to the people of the country by June 1948 insists that power as a whole should be transferred to the Central Government It also records its disapproval of the clause in HMG's last statement of February 20 that it may transfer power even to the Government of some of the existing provinces as it will break up Indian unity and cut off Bengal from the rest of India and is likely to result in handing over power to some communal party

UNITY OF INDIA

This Committee while wishing for and believing in the unity of Bengal thinks that the unity of India is of more fundamental necessity for India as a whole, and also for Bengal and its people

So this Committee demands that if HMG contemplate handing over its power to the existing Government of Bengal which is determined to the formation of Bengal into a separate sover[e]ign state and which by its composition is a communal party-Government such portions of Bengal as are desirous of remaining within the Union of India should be allowed to remain so and be formed into a separate province, within the Union of India

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

This Committee hereby lends its support to the democratic rights of the people of such portions to remain within the Union of India—which right has been recognised by the Cabinet Mission in its State document of May 16, 1946 as in the last para of Clause 6 and Clause 7 of the said document

While framing the constitution of Bengal even as a province within the Union, if it is not found possible to provide Joint electorate and adult franchise with essential minority safeguards as the basis of the constitution, this Committee further demands that Bengal should be divided into two provinces and such portions as are desirous of framing the constitution on that basis should be allowed to form a separate province of their own

2 This Committee also notes that certain portions of Eastern and South-eastern Bengal, the Garo area, Chittagong Hill Tracts etc are determined to remain within the Union of India Having contiguous connection with other parts of the Indian Union, such portions have their inalienable right to remain within the Union So the Committee expects that in the new constitution effective facilities will be provided for these portions to remain within the Union, if necessary be [*sic* for by] incorporating them with any other province within the Union and contiguous to them

[*Four sub paras omitted*]

XII.77

Frederick Burrows to Louis Mountbatten

L/P&J/5/154 f 56[1]

SECRET GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,
FJB-22 *11 April 1947*

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2 The recrudscence of communal trouble in Calcutta and Howrah has been the outstanding event of the past three weeks The disturbances have been described in paragraphs 2, 13 and 14 of the enclosed report of the Home Department, and you will also have received my brief factual telegrams (I may say in passing that these Home Department fortnightly reports can be expected as giving a reliable picture of the political situation in the Province, my Ministry makes no attempt to tamper with them) At no time was the trouble on anything like the scale of last August, either in extent or intensity But it is ominous that, when both the main political parties were genuinely desirous of a speedy restoration of normal conditions, the recurrence of incidents persisted for so long After several days with paractically no incidents, there was a sharp deterioration on the 9th evening, accompanied by a disquieting truculence on the part of the Gurkha armed police There is a history attached to this When, after the August riots, my Ministry proposed to increase the armed police force in Calcutta by 609 sepoys, they pressed for the entire recruitment to be made from Punjabi Mussalmans (Bengalis, whether Hindu or Muslim, have never been much of a success in the Armed Branch) They had justification for their demand in that the existing strength of the Calcutta armed police was then 64 up-country Muslims, 60 up-country Hindus, and 1162 Gurkhas I corresponded with Lord Wavell on the subject last November and eventually agreed to the Ministry's proposal The Gurkhas have been wretchedly housed for years - although rehousing has been on the tapis for a long time, but has been hampered by lack of material, the new force has been much better housed owing to the accomodating spirit of a very rich Muslim Its members have also given themseleves airs as being something more in the nature of a *corps d'elite* than mere policeman, and this has helped to aggravate the Gurkhas The murder of some Gurkha *durwans* on the 9th and an attack on a Gurkha picket, accompanied by the disappearance of one

as does Sarat Bose's Forward Bloc, but the weight of Hindu opinion has definitely swung against them The Muslim leaders are trying to laugh the movement off as a political stunt to kill Pakistan, but I think they now realise that the partitionists mean business In all the discussions about partition, I have yet to see any reference to section 290 of the 1935 Act, which is the only constitutional method of altering the boundaries of a Province—though I appreciate that some departures from the Act may be necessary between now and June 1948

[*Para 4 omitted*]

[1]See *TP*, X, No 127, p 203
[2]No XII 73

XII.78

Cabinet
India and Burma Committee, I B (47)

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/24[1]

28 May 1947

THE FUTURE OF BENGAL

VISCOUNT MOUNTBATTEN drew the Committee's attention to the report in the *News Chronicle* of 27th May[2] of an interview given by Pandit Nehru, in the course of which he had said that Congress could agree to Bengal remaining united only if it remained in the Union of India This statement would no doubt receive the widest publicity in India, and was an example of the tendency of the Indian leaders to make public statements from which they could not subsequently withdraw The Viceroy was afraid that, in view of this development, the prospects of saving the unity of Bengal and securing its establishment as a third Dominion in India had been gravely prejudiced, indeed, he thought that, if Pandit Nehru had completely committed himself, the only means by which the partition of Bengal could be avoided would be by Mr Jinnah's abandonment of his claim to the Province for Pakistan and by its acceptance of a position, similar to that of an Indian State, of quasi-independence in close relationship with one or other of the Dominion Governments If it proved impossible to avoid the partition of the Province, the future of Eastern Bengal would present very difficult problems, since it was clearly not a viable unit This area might possibly submit a claim for recognition as a separate Dominion in order to secure the assistance and backing of His Majesty's Government

had agreed to your having authority to recast the forthcoming statement, so far as Bengal is concerned, in the light of the circumstances prevailing on the 2nd June It is primarily to bring you up to date as regards Coalition prospects in Bengal, as far as I can do so, that I am now writing I say "as far as I can do so" because both Suhrawardy and K[i]ran Shankar Roy have left for Delhi to take the matter up with their respective high commands and the final decision "to coalesce or not coalesce" will now be taken there I can therefore only give you the position as it was this week end when they left Calcutta for Delhi and my own estimate of the prospects Suhrawardy proposes to seek an interview with you on your return at which to give you the final result of his efforts there Should Kiran Shankar Roy also ask to see you and be given an interview it would help you to complete the picture

I should perhaps recall that there have been latterly two sets of negotiations proceeding concurrently—those between Suhrawardy, with some of his followers, and Kiran Shankar Roy and Sarat Bose for the formulation of certain points of agreement as the basis of a future Coalition Government and of a separate constituent assembly formed under its aegis to draft a constitution for the sovereign independent "Free State of Bengal" The other set of negotiations to which, so far as I know, only Suhrawardy and Kiran Shankar Roy are parties, was inaugurated at my suggestion and directed to the formation of a Coalition Government here and now without any binding commitment as to the future constitutional or "international" set up of the Province The two sets of negotiations are not mutually antagonistic in any way but rather complementary I felt that while some progress was undoubtedly being made in the long term negotiations, these had already been in progress since the New Year and finality was not likely to be attained before the critical date of June 2nd It was common ground between the three of us that the object of those negotiations would almost certainly be defeated if it at once became known for certain that H M G had decided to link the possibility of partition in Bengal with any decision to partition India, and we therefore decided to try to secure the immediate setting up [of] a Coalition without any definite commitments but obviously on the basis of a tacit recognition of the ground already covered towards agreement in the discussions to which Sarat Bose and a wider circle on both sides have been parties Suhrawardy and Roy were both impelled to my proposal for a short cut by their conviction that only by getting a Coalition set up in time to avert reference in the statement of June 2nd to the possibility of partitioning Bengal, could we hope to escape a holocaust in Bengal The discussions

of that Province Such a situation was in his opinion very likely to lead to serious trouble

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY asked Sir Eric Mieville to arrange for him to see Mr Suhrawardy that afternoon He went on to point out that His Majesty's Government had declared themselves willing to agree to an independent Bengal—in fact willing to agree to any solution for Bengal with which the Leaders of the principal parties agreed However, Pandit Nehru had stated that he would not agree to Bengal being independent [3] Therefore the only profitable line of negotiation at present was to find out whether the leaders would agree to Bengal being given a status similar to that of an Indian State and being allowed to negotiate its own separate agreements with either side

SIR JOHN COLVILLE stated that Mr Liaquat Ali Khan had told him that he considered that the future of Calcutta was the most difficult point of all

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY pointed out that His Majesty's Government had decided that it would not be practicable to declare Calcutta a free city They had also ruled that Dominion status would not be granted to Eastern Bengal independently In his opinion, Eastern Bengal was likely to be a great embarrassment to Pakistan Presumably Pandit Nehru considered that Eastern Bengal was bound sooner or later to rejoin India

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY stated that His Majesty's Government had agreed that the possible transfer of Purnea to Eastern Bengal should not be considered in the present statement but should, like the transfer of parts of Sind, form the subject of separate negotiations and consideration by a Boundary Commission [4]

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

directed Prin[cipal] Sec[retary] to arrange for him to see Mr Suhrawardy that day

[1]Also see *TP, XI*, No 2, pp 1-3

[2]See No XII 79

[3]On 27 May 1947, Nehru strongly reacting to talks about independent Bengal, told Mieville that "there was no chance of Hindus there agreeing to put themselves under permanent Muslim domination " However, he did not "rule out the possibility of the whole of Bengal joining up with Hindustan " See *TP*, X, No 552, p 1013 Earlier Nehru had told the correspondent of the *News Chronicle* that an independent Bengal practically meant "the whole of Bengal going into the Pakistan area" and that the Congress would agree to "Bengal remaining united only if it remains in the [Indian] Union " See Annex to No XII 78

[4]On 20 May 1947, the India and Burma Committee considered "three important proposals for boundary adjustments" made by the Indian leaders—Jinnah's proposal to amalgamate, in case of partition of Bengal, Purnea district of Bihar with continuous Eastern Bengal, Nehru's suggestion to transfer a small part of Sindh to Jodhpur State and Sardar Patel's to transfer part of Kutch State to Bombay Presidency The Committee decided that "these were not matters on which decisions should be taken at this stage Any boundary adjustments of this type should be a matter for settlement after the transfer of power", either by agreement or by an appropriate Boundary Commission See *TP*, X, No 494, p 922

deputed Menon to obtain Patel's "agreement to six months' joint control of Calcutta" Patel dismissed the proposition saying "Not even for six hours!" see *TP*, XI, No 91, p 158

[4]Emphasis in the original

[5]See No 437, Vol I, Part I

[6]This refers to Hindu majority provinces of Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa, included in Section A of the Cabinet Mission Plan See Appendix III

17 Mr Mohammad Ismail Khan
18 Khan Bahadur Hafiz M Ghazanfarulla, O B E.
19 Dr Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, C I E
20 Khan Bahadur Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad
21 Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang
22 Maulana Zafar Ali Khan
23 Mr Hafiz Mohammad Abdullah
24 Nawab Sir Syed Muhammad Mehr Shah
25 Captain Syed Abid Hussain
26 Khan Bahadur Makhdum *Al-Haj* Syed Sher Shah Jeelani
27 Mr Muhammad Nauman
28 Choudhry Md ' Abid Hussain
29 Khan Bahadur Habibur Rahman
30 Mr Ali Asghar Khan

European Group

1	Mr P J Griffiths, C I E	*Leader*
2	Mr C P Lawson	*Deputy Leader*
3	Mr E L C Gwilt	*Whip*
4	Mr R C Morris	
5	Mr H G Stokes, O B E	
6	Mr Geoffrey W Tyson, C I E	
7	Mr M A F Hirtzel, O B E	
8	Mr A C Inskip, C B E	
9	Mr D D H Thomas	

Independent Party

1	Sardar Mangal Singh	*Leader*
2	Lt -Col Dr J C Chatterjee	*Deputy Leader*
3	Mr Madan Dhari Singh M B E	*Secretary*
4	Colonel Kumar Shri Himmatsinghji C I E	*Whip*
5	Choudhury Sri Chand	*Treasurer*
6	Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia	
7	Captain Sardar Harendra Singh	
8	Dr P G Solanki	
9	Sardar N C Vinchoorkar	
10	Dr Sir Vijaya Ananda	

Members who belong to no Party

1. Sardar Sampuran Sıngh
2. Mr Frank R Anthony
3. Rao Bahadur N Sıva Raȷ
4. Mıss Manıben Kara
5. Mr S Guruswamı
6. Sır Cowasȷee Jehangır, Bart , G B E K C I E
7. Raı Bahadur D M Bhattacharyya, O B E
8. Raȷa Sır Saıyıd Ahmad Alı Khan Alvı, O B E , of Salempur
9. Khan Bahadur Sharbat Khan, C I E
10. Raȷa Bahadur Ramchandra Mardaraȷ Deo
11. Hony Lt Commander Aftab Alı
12. Rao Bahadur Sır V T Krıshamacharı, K C I E

[1]Normally Muhammad ıs not abbrevıated as Md or Mohd However, ıt has been retaıned here and hereafter ın thıs Appendıx as gıven ın the orıgınal

XIII.5

COUNCIL OF STATE

Composıtıon of Partıes

Independent Progressıve Party	8
Congress	6
Muslım League	7
Independent Party	3
No Party	19
Vacant	1
Offıcıals	14
[Total]	58

XIII.6

COUNCIL OF STATE
Composition by Communities

	Elected	*Nominated non-officials*	*Total*	*Interests represented by the nominated non-officials*
Hindus	17	4	21	1 Scheduled Castes 3 open seats
Muslims	10	4	14	1 N W F P 1 Baluchistan 2 open seats
Sikhs	1	2	3	2 open seats
Europeans	2	-	2	
Indian Christians	-	1	1	Indian Christians
Parsis	1	1	2	President Council of State
Vacant	1	-	1	
Officials	-	-	14	
[Total]	32	12	58	

XIII.7

COUNCIL OF STATE

[List of Members]

Independent Progressive Party

The Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru	*Leader*
The Honourable Mr P N Sapru	*Secretary*

118	Dera Ghazi Khan South	1	4	14 414	9 431	65 43	Sardar Bahadur Khan M B E	Muslim League	3 237
Sikh Urban									
119	Eastern Towns	1	2	24 416	13 843	56 70	S Indar Singh	Congress	9 066
120	Western Towns	1	2	32 330	20 956	64 82	S Ujjal Singh	Panthic	10 460
Sikh Rural									
121	South East Punjab	1	6	13 337	6 738	50 52	S Narotam Singh	Panthic	4 423
122	Ambala North	1	4	22 329	15 591	69 82	S Baldev Singh	Panthic	8 226
123	Kangra and North Hoshiarpur	1	2	16 743	9 979	59 60	S Shiv Saran Singh	Panthic	7 335
124	Hoshiarpur South	1	3	13 941	8 543	61 28	S Piara Singh	Panthic	5,011
125	Jullundur West	1	4	24 997	16 510	66 05	S Swaran Singh	Panthic	10 072
126	Jullundur East	1	3	28 495	17 847	62 63	S Kabal Singh	Congress	11 568
127	Ludhiana East	1	3	19 698	13,091	66 46	S Kapur Singh	Congress	6 610
128	Ludhiana Central	1	3	20 098	8 799	43 78	S Bachan Singh V Gujarwala	Congress	7 278
129	Jagraon	1	5	17 671	11 039	62 47	S Kehar Singh	Congress	6 316
130	Ferozepore North	1	5	13 980	6 994	50 03	S Rattan Singh	Panthic	4 076
131	Ferozepore East	1	7	16 301	8 796	53 96	S Rattan Singh	Congress	5 283
132	Ferozwpore West	1	3	12 654	8 347	65 96	S Gurbachan Singh	Panthic	5 465
133	Ferozepore South	1	5	19 790	12 081	61 05	S Tara Singh	Panthic	4 875
134	Lahore West	1	7	22 236	14 251	64 09	S Sardul Singh	Independent	5 416
135	Kasur	1	3	17 106	11 704	68 42	S Sajjan Singh	Congress	6 862
136	Amritsar North	1	4	17 970	12 075	67 20	S Isar Singh	Panthic	7 464
137	Amritsar Central	1	4	19 651	11 845	60 28	S Uddam Singh	Panthic	8 976
138	Amritsar South	1	3	19 325	12 517	64 26	S Partap Singh M A	Congress	8 476
139	Gurdaspur North	1	3	14 878	9 613	64 61	S Shiv Singh	Congress	5 467
140	Batala	1	5	17 720	11 393	64 29	S Waryam Singh	Panthic	6 080
141	Sialkot	1	4	19 897	13 286	66 77	S Gurbachan Singh	Independent	4 743
142	Gujranwala and Shahdara	1	6	20 178	11 315	70 94	S Jogindar Singh	Panthic	8,514
143	Sheikhupura West	1	3	18 722	12 170	67 90	Jathedar Man Singh	Panthic	5 693
144	[Name Missing]								
145	North West Punjab	1	8	18 325	12 882	70 30	Jaswant Singh	Panthic	6 521
146	Montgomery East	1	4	20 732	13 217	63 76	Sant Narinder Singh	Panthic	6 598
147	Lyallpur West	1	3	18 099	12 572	79 48	Giani Kartar Singh	Panthic	8 031
148	Lyallpur East	1	4	18 037	12 459	68 83	S Dalip Singh	Panthic	5 967
149	South West Punjab	1	4	18 713	10 116	54 06	Ajit Singh	Panthic	6 778
Womens									
150	Inner Lahore Muhammadan	1	2	3 865	2 670	69 08	Salma Begum	Muslim League	2 073
151	Outer Lahore Muhammadan	1	3	5 072	2 991	58 97	Jahan Ara Begum	Muslim League	2 282
152	Amritsar Sikh	1	3	70 705	44 023	62 26	Sh Parkash Kaur	Congress	29 480
153	Lahore City General	1	1	43 37_			Mrs Rameshuri Nehru	Congress	
Anglo Indian									
154	Anglo-Indian	1	2	813	301	37 02	P Manual	Independent	178
European									
155	European	1	7	2 196	366	16 69	P H Guest	European	234
Indian Christian									
156	East Central Punjab	1	4	5 586	3 556	63 66	Fazal Ilahi	Independent	1 410
157	West Central Punjab	1	5	9 192	5 376	57 86	Dewan Bahadur S P Singha	Unionist	2 826
Commerce and Industry									
158	Commerce & Industry	1	2	275	268	97 45	L Bhagwan Dass	Congress	134
159	East Punjab	1	4	654	400	61 09	L Durga Chand	Congress	199
160	Central Punjab	1	3	775	543	70 06	S Jagjit Singh	Unionist	443
161	North Punjab	1	4	886	625	70 54	Lt Col Hon'ble Malik Nawab Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana	Unionist	492
162	West Punjab	1	4	1 066	797	74 77	Lt Col Hon'ble Malik Nawab Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana	Unionist	670
163	Tumandars	1	1	9			Khan Bahadur Haji Nawab Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan	Unionist	
Labour									
(i) Trade Union									
164	Trade Union	1	9	1 828	1 355	74 12	L Ganga Saran	Independent	552
(ii) Non Union									
165	East Punjab	1	5	8 238	5 104	61 95	Daud Ghaznavi	Congress	2 646
166	North Punjab	1	5	6 769	3 827	56 54	Barkat Hayat Khan	Independent	1 181
University									
167	University	1	2	1 624	1 417	87 02	Dr Gopichand Bhargava	Congress	819

[1] *Return showing Results of Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures* in *1945-46*, New Delhi, 1948, pp 153-172

[2] Full name not available

46	Hyderabad South West	1	1	20 958			Sardar Bahadur Mir Haji Hussain Bux Khan Talpur	Muslim League	
47	Hyderabad East	1	3	29 267	12 134	41 3	Mir Bundehali Khan Talpur	Muslim League	6 807
48	Hyderabad South	1	3	30 553	17 944	58 7	Hon ble Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur	Muslim League	11 599
49	Thar Parkar West	1	4	24 135	13 037	54 1	G M Bhurgri	Syed Party	7 397
50	Thar Parkar North	1	3	24 566	11 708	47 6	G M Vassan	Muslim League	6 451
51	Thar Parkar South	1	5	5 782	3 455	59 9	Khan Sahib Arbab Tagochi	Muslim League	2 115
Women s General Urban									
52	Hyderabad *cum* Karachi City	1	1	37 395			*Miss Jethi T Sipahimalani*	Congress	
Muhammadan Urban									
53	Karachi City	1	2	5 015	2 338	46 6	Mrs Jenubai[Zenubai] w/o G Allana	Muslim League	1 768
European									
54	Karachi City	1	1	1 161			J Fraser	European	
55	Sind	1	1	326			Col H J Mahon	European	
Commerce and Industry									
56	Karachi Chamber of Commerce	1	1	47			Lt Col W B Hossack	European	
57	Indian Commerce	1	1	476			Issardas Varindmal	Congress	
Landholders									
58	Landholders	2	11	3 564	2 439	68 4	Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas	Congress	1 823
Labour									
59	Registered Factories	1	3	12 237	4 961	40 5	N A Bechar	Congress	3 069

[1]*Return Showing The Results of Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures in 1945-46*, New Delhi, 1948, pp 218-225

XIII.18

STATEMENT SHOWING DETAILS OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS TO SIND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [DECEMBER] 1946 [EXTRACT]

S No	Class & place of Constituency	No of seats	No of Candidates	Total No of Electors	Total No of Electors who voted	Percentage of Col 6 on Col 5	Names	Party affiliation	No of votes polled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
General Urban									
1	Karachi City North	1	1	35 892			Haridas Lalji	Congress	
2	Karachi City South	1	1	31 139			Rustomji Khurshedji Sidhwa	Congress	
3	Hyderabad City	1	1	8 933			Vishnu Neenaram Sharma	Congress	
General Rural									
4	Karachi District	1	1	5 904			Nichaldas C Vazirani	Congress	
5	Dadu District	1	1	9 819			Parsram Vishinsingh	Congress	
6	Larkana District	1	1	21 510			Sirumal Vishindas	Congress	
7	Upper Sind Frontier District	1	1	4 455			Madhavdas Shivalomal	Congress	
8	Sukkur West	1	3	17 396	5 205	29 9	Gobindram Dhanrajmal Punjabi	Congress	4 703
9	Sukkur Central	1	1	16 300			Chothram Teekchand Valecha	Congress	
10	Sukkur East	1	1	9 128			Hollaram Hassomal Keswani	Congress	
11	Nawabshah North	1	1	14 412			Newandram Vishindas	Congress	
12	Nawabshah South	1	2	16 169	6 566	40 6	Sirumal Kirpaldas	Congress	6 428
13	Hyderabad Suburb and Taluka	1	2	5 945	2 641	44 4	Ghanshyam Jethanand Shivdasani	Congress	2 591
14	Hyderabad North	1	1	17 142			Naraindas Ratanmal Malkani	Congress –	
15	Hyderabad South	1	4	11 856	4 608	39 1	Tahilram Teekchand	Congress	4 313
16	Tharparkar West	1	2	13 904	6 091	43 8	Partabrai Kaisukhdas	Congress	5 442
17	Tharparkar North	1	2	20 928	6 395	30 6	Menghumal Perumal	Congress	5 588
18	Tharparkar South	1	3	6 506	4 137	63 6	Swami Krishnanand	Congress	2 550
Muhammadan Urban									
19	Karachi City North	1	3	23 429	17 587	75 1	Mahmoud Abdoola Haroon	Muslim League	17 357
20	Karachi City South	1	5	24 947	17 583	70 4	Haji Mohd Hashim Gazdar	Muslim League	17 168
Muhammadan Rural									
21	Karachi North	1	3	9 786	7,574	77 6	Anwar Hussain Ghulam Hussain Shaikh	Muslim League	6 967
22	Karachi South	1	3	16 099	11 851	73 6	Pir Ali Shah Pir Bhawanshah	Muslim League	9 973
23	Karachi East	1	2	18 338	11 225	61 2	Haji Fazal Md Khan Laghari	Muslim League	8 756
24	Dadu North	1	3	28 526	14 529	51 3	Syed Ali Akbar Shah	Muslim League	12 916
25	Dadu Central	1	4	15 396	8 962	58 2	Pir Illahi Bakhsh	Muslim League	8 447
26	Dadu South	1	3	11 052	7 395	66 9	Kazi Mohd Akbar	Muslim League	4 115
27	Larkana North	1	1	2,583			Nabibux Bhuto	Muslim League	
28	Larkana East	1	1	15 238			M A Khuro	Muslim League	
29	Larkana South	1	3	22 705	11 277	49 7	Fazulallah Kazi	Muslim League	8 490
30	Larkana West		2	29 066	5 139	17 7	Mahomed Khan Chandio	Muslim League	5 010
31	Upper Sind Frontier East	1	2	24 250	11 309	46 6	Khan Bahadur Sardar Noor Mohd Khan Bijarani	Muslim League	11 050

32	Upper Sind Frontier Central	1	3	18 755	10 315	55.0	Khan Sahib Sardar Khan Khoso	Muslim Jam'iyyat	4 554
33	Upper Sind Frontier West	1	2	17 895	10 303	57.6	Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali	Muslim League	5 412
34	Sukkur North West	1	4	24 614	16 335	66.4	Rahimbakhsh Allahbakhsh Soomro	Muslim League	16 030
35	Sukkur South West	1	2	30 528	17 895	58.6	Agha Badruddin Ahmed Shamsuddin Khan	Muslim League	17 655
36	Sukkur South East	1	2	17 889	13 671	76.4	Abdul Sattar Abdul Rehman Pirzada	Muslim League	13 405
37	Sukkur Central	1	2	15 186	7 984	52.6	Aligohar Khan Haji Khan Mahar	Muslim League	7 134
38	Sukkur North West	1	2	20 745	10 738	51.8	Sardar Bahadur Kaisar Khan Mohd Khan Bozdar	Muslim League	6 712
39	Nawabshah North	1	2	16 775	10 352	61.7	Haji Ghulam Nabi Dahraj	Muslim League	7 410
40	Nawabshah North West	1	3	15,558	6 932		Noor Mahomed Shah	Muslim League	6 694
41	Nawabshah West	1	2	25 592	14 858	58.1	Ghulam Rasul Jatoi	Muslim League	13 194
42	Nawabshah South	1	1	14 107			Ali Mohd Mari	Muslim League	
43	Nawabshah East	1	2	20 435	7 357	36.0	Mohd Azam	Muslim League	6 652
44	Hyderabad North	1	3	16 644	10 752	64.6	Makhdoom Ghulam Hyder Makhdoom Zahirdin Qureshi	Muslim League	6 807
45	Hyderabad North West	1	1	17 916			Miran Muhammad Shah Zainaldin Shah	Muslim League	
46	Hyderabad South West	1	5	20 958	11 165	53.3	Haji Hussain Bux Khan Mir	Muslim League	5 675
47	Hyderabad East	1	4	29 267	11 327	38.7	Mir Bundeali Mir Haji Mohd Khan Talpur	Muslim League	9 988
48	Hyderabad South	1	3	30 553	18 295	59.9	Mir Ghulamali Khan Mir Bundehali Khan Talpur	Muslim League	13 924
49	Thar Parkar West	1	4	24 135	12 353	51.2	Mir Ahmed Khan	Muslim League	7 763
50	Thar Parkar North	1	2	24 566	11 957	48.7	Ghulam Mohd Wassan	Muslim League	7 520
51	Thar Parkar South	1	2	5 782	3 072	53.1	Togachi Mir Mohd Noahari	Muslim League	3 023
Women's General Urban									
52	Hyderabad cum Karachi City	1	1	37 395			Miss Jethi T Sipahimalani	Congress	
Women's Muhammadan Urban									
53	Karachi City	1	1	5 015			Mrs Jenubai [Zenubai] Allana	Muslim League	
European									
54	Karachi City	1	1	1 161			J Fraser	European	
55	Sind	1	1	326			Col H J Mahon	European	
Commerce and Industry									
56	Karachi Chamber of Commerce	1	1	47			Lt Col W B Hossick	European	
57	Indian Commerce	1	1	476			Issardas Varindmal	Congress	
Landholders									
58	Landholders	2	3	3 592	2 637	73.4	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	Muslim League	2 055
Labour									
59	Registered Factories	1	2	12 237	6 941	56.7	Kazi Mohd Mujtaba	Communist	3 670

[1]In September 1946, Premier Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah lost his majority in the Sindh Assembly He made efforts to form a coalition ministry but did not succeed In the event, the Governor dissolved the Assembly and ordered fresh elections which were held in December 1946

[2]*Return showing the Results of Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures in 1945-46*, New Delhi, 1948, pp 251-259

APPENDIX XIV

MOUNTBATTEN'S INTERVIEWS WITH M A JINNAH AND OTHER ML LEADERS

XIV.1

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET *24 March 1947*

The first half hour of this interview was spent in discussion of the Finance Bill Then Liaquat gave me his impressions of the Cabinet Mission meetings and of Mr Jinnah He emphasized that Jinnah was most anxious not to embarrass me in any way He gave me his version of how the Coalition Government has been formed—a totally different version to that rendered by Nehru—and quite untrue I told him that it was my object that the Cabinet should function more and more as a Coalition Government—at present it was the only body representing every shade of opinion in India, and I set great store by it—but only if it could be made to function properly Liaquat said that he was opposed to Cabinet Committees but I persuaded him into suggesting that they should be set up (He made this suggestion at a Cabinet meeting later in the day but it was turned down by Congress)

Liaquat then proposed that decisions of the Cabinet should have to be voted by a majority of each party as well as by a majority of the Cabinet itself (This suggestion is being investigated apart)

I told Liaquat, in the same way as I told Nehru in my interview with him today, that I considered that I had an appalling responsibility to make up my mind what to recommend to His Majesty's Government I drew attention to the remarkable position in which His Majesty's Government had placed me I said that I intended to approach the problem in an atmosphere of stark realism In connection with the time factor, I pointed out that it took two years to separate Burma I was less interested that India should be handed over on lines which might ultimately prove correct than that mechanism should be set up to avoid bloodshed after the departure of the British I asked Liaquat if he agreed that the Army was the final guarantor of law and order, and that the morale and discipline of the Army was of the highest importance He agreed I pointed out the problems which arose in trying to get the Army nationalized within the time limit

[1] *TP*, X, No 12, pp 13-14

XIV.2

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND ABDUR RAB NISHTAR

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/191

TOP SECRET *26 March 1947*

Mr Nishtar gave me an interesting account of the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, and offered full reasons for the non-participation of the Muslims in the Constituent Assembly He said—as did the other Muslim League leaders whom I have seen—that they are determined never to come together with Congress I made no effort to dispel this conviction on this occasion

XIV.3

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/191

TOP SECRET *31 March 1947*

I asked him how his tour of the Punjab went He gave a brief account and said that he considered that the first requirement was to get out of Section 93 Government as soon as possible His solution for doing this was the same as he had given me at our last meeting, namely to hold fresh elections He claimed that the election results would mean that the whole of Khizar Hyat Khan's[1] 9 Unionist Muslim seats and one vacancy caused by death would be added to the 80 existing Muslim League votes, giving them 90 out of 175, i e a clear over-all majority

My reply was that I regarded the Punjab as a microcosm of the Indian problem, since the same difficulty of large minorities living in the same area was repeated here as in India as a whole

I told him that much as I disliked having any Section 93 Governments, I had no intention of prejudging the issue of India as a whole by giving a precipitate decision over the Punjab

He then said would I at the very least give instructions to the Governor that the military should not be used on purely police work where this could be avoided In particular, it was highly undesirable

that non-commissioned officers should be in charge of military controls entering houses without a search warrant and arresting people since this would cause communal bitterness and possibly distrust of the impartiality of the Army If the Army were held in reserve for supporting the police in case they were overpowered, that was one thing, if they were to replace the Police, that was quite another question

I introduced him to Lord Ismay, who was on the point of leaving to visit the Punjab, and invited him to put his case to him I instructed C V S [Chief of Viceroy's Staff] to discuss this with the Governor, and to say that I supported Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan's views on the duties of the Army and Police forces

[1]Correct spelling of the name is Khizar Hayat Khan

XIV.4

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET *3 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 11 10 a m to 12 15 p m

I took him to task for allowing Members of the Interim Government to take an active part in the Committee of Action of the League, as reported in *Dawn*[2] He explained that most of the Members of the Interim Government belonged either to the Congress Committee or the Muslim League Working Committee I accepted this but complained that the League Ministers were actively associated with the Committee of Action, to which he replied that they had been members of the Committee of Action before joining the Interim Government

I told him that in their own interests they should either resign or refrain from taking an active part in the Committee of Action, and that I should probably take a convenient opportunity of expressing this view to Mr Jinnah I ended with the very strong advice to him not to embarrass the position of the League in the Government by allowing these activities to continue

We discussed the setting up of the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet He gave me his very strong reasons against this at some length, and I have asked him to let me have these reasons in writing together with his proposal as to how the political difficulty can be overcome

I asked him whether, in the event of my obtaining complete Congress

adherence to the letter and spirit of the Cabinet Mission's statement of the 16th May, he felt there was any chance that Mr Jinnah would then come back to his original agreement He replied that the communal strife had become so bitter that he felt there was now no chance

I then asked him what, if he were in my place, his solution would be for the transfer of power

He smiled engagingly and said "Since my dealings with the Congress Members of the Interim Government, I have come to realise that they are utterly impossible people to work with, since there is no spirit of compromise or fair play in them, and the majority are thinking only of ways and means by which they can do down the Muslim League and improve their own position" He continued "I consider the position now so intolerable that if your Excellency was only prepared to let the Muslim League have the Sind Desert, I would still prefer to accept that and have a separate Muslim State in those conditions than to continue in bondage to the Congress with apparently more generous concessions "

Finally, he gave me a brief report of progress in his Department, and asked me to include in the Defence Committee, when it was set up, the Member for Communications, Mr Nishtar, so as to ensure that there would be at least two Muslim League Members on the Committee

[1]*TP*, X, No 65, pp 101-102
[2]Dated 1 April 1947

XIV.5

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND I I CHUNDRIGAR

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/191

TOP SECRET *4 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 12 10 to 12 50 p m

I discussed his letter of the 3rd April with him, about the appointment of a new High Commissioner in the United Kingdom

He pointed out that Pandit Nehru had appointed Asaf Ali to the United States and K P S Menon to China recently, in his capacity as Member for External Affairs—without consulting anybody and merely with Lord Wavell's approval

He therefore called upon me to approve the appointment of Khwaja Nazimuddin as High Commissioner in the U K

I said I thought that this was a matter which should come before the

positively certain that the only way to obtain Mr Jinnah's co-operation would be to tell him that the British accepted Pakistan (a truncated version if necessary) as the ultimate goal from the Muslim point of view, but that we did not intend to create chaos by turning it over to him more quickly than was possible, nor was it for us to tell the Indians exactly how to set it up In the meanwhile, it was to be hoped that it would be possible to strengthen the centre by the inclusion of Mr Jinnah in the Government, by providing in the absence of "parity" such safeguards as might be agreeable to the Muslims and to make use of Mr Gandhi to put through a solution with the aim and object eventually of creating a truncated Pakistan

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he did not believe that Mr Jinnah had thought of the most elementary mechanics whereby Pakistan was to be run All the Indian leaders whom he had met were very ignorant of the mechanics of administration and under-estimated the difficulties They were likely to devise a much shorter programme than events would prove it possible to adhere to Things would take much longer to settle than was anticipated

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY stated that he did not believe that Mr Jinnah was opposed to the idea of an Interim Government working under a British Viceroy Perhaps the Muslims could be given some form of parity in the Interim Government The British might lay down the broad principles on which the transfer of power was to take place, together with a series of conditions and a programme to work to

MR ABELL said that it was not in his opinion likely that Congress would agree to the Muslim League being given parity in the Interim Government There was no justification on census figures for such parity Congress had never agreed to it and he thought they never would

LORD ISMAY suggested that a Committee might be established from members of the Interim Government to consider the practical working of the ultimate solution There might be parity in this Committee, which would sit under the Chairmanship of the Viceroy Mr Jinnah might be induced to co-operate on the condition that it would be the first object of a new Government to set up such a committee LORD ISMAY suggested that His Excellency might tell Mr Jinnah that he wanted him in the Government because, as things stood, he could only get his (Mr Jinnah's) views at second hand, that he himself would be prepared to hear Mr Jinnah in a continuous series of Committee conferences, H E might add that this seemed to him by far the best chance of getting through the Cabinet Mission's plan in its entirety

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY gave his view that, although Mr Jinnah might be induced to start work on such a basis, he would

was no necessity for them to do so The Viceroy would not attend meetings of the Cabinet He would have no powers of any sort

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he fully understood these objections to the grant of Dominion status as such Some formula whereby powers would be reserved would have to be devised He was still nebulous in his own mind as to the details of the outline which he had propounded There was only one new element in this outline and that was that a decision in principle should be taken right away and the Indians themselves should be left to work it out in detail

LORD ISMAY said that he had received two letters in the last two days from Mr Gandhi who referred to the preparation of a "draft agreement" between himself and the Viceroy LORD ISMAY said that it was important to get out of Mr Gandhi's mind any idea that the note which he had prepared giving the outline of Mr Gandhi's scheme[3] in any way constituted a preparation for a draft agreement Possibly he had mentioned his scheme to Pandit Nehru who may have expressed disagreement with it?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that Mr Gandhi should be reminded that he (His Excellency) had always insisted that it would be necessary to talk over Mr Gandhi's scheme with Pandit Nehru Before taking any such steps he must first be convinced that Pandit Nehru agreed with it

LORD ISMAY read out the draft of a letter to be sent by the Viceroy to Mr Gandhi in reply[4] HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY generally approved this draft subject to minor amendments

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

(i) directed the senior members of his staff to think over the outline plan which he had expounded above,

(ii) invited C V S to re-draft and render to him the letter which he was to send to Mr Gandhi

[1] *TP*, X, No 87, pp 142-145

[2] No XIV 6

[3] Gandhi's scheme envisaged an Interim Government at the centre giving Jinnah an option to form a cabinet It also allowed Jinnah to present a plan for Pakistan "even before transfer of power" Gandhi stated that the Congress majority in the legislature would not be used against the ML policy "provided that it is in the interest of the whole of India' The scheme petered out as it did not find favour with Nehru nor did Mountbatten present it to Jinnah See *TP*, X, No 83, pp 136-137 and No 86, pp 140-141

[4] Mountbatten informed Gandhi that he would recommend to H M G an agreed formula for the transfer of power after discussions with the Indian political leaders Ibid , No 88, pp 145-146

Government on the understanding that he would enter the Constituent Assembly

He hotly denied the latter, and said that if I searched the files I would find that he had carefully preserved his position in this matter, and he had nothing to add to what was stated in the letters

He pointed out at great length that it was quite valueless entering the Constituent Assembly or even trying to go back to the Cabinet Mission plan, since the whole bases of the Cabinet Mission plan were that it had to be worked in a spirit of co-operation and mutual trust In May 1946 there had been some prospect that this atmosphere could be created Now, nearly a year later, the atmosphere so far from improving had taken a serious turn for the worse, and it was clear that in no circumstances did Congress intend to work the Plan either in accordance with the spirit or the letter

He said that India had now passed beyond the stage at which any such compromise solution could possibly work, and he categorically called upon me to hand over power as soon as possible, preferably Province by Province, and let the Provinces themselves choose how they formed into groups Alternatively, if I preferred it, I could name the groups myself

On the question of defence he said he had come to the conclusion that the Defence forces must be separated and that Pakistan and Hindustan must be responsible separately for their own defence On no other basis would it be possible to have any form of central organization on terms of parity

I pointed out that in discussing his proposals I was very far from agreeing with him, but I naturally had to consider every proposal put to me

I said that even if his proposals proved to be the correct solution, they could only be satisfactorily implemented if I had the necessary time at my disposal for each step to be satisfactorily carried out

I drew his attention to Brigadier Cariappa's recent statement, supported by four or five other senior Indian officers, that it would be a minimum of five years before the present Indian Army could expect to be efficient and stand on its own legs, without the help of British officers

If this period were cut down to June 1948 and on top of that we were asked to perform the miracle of cutting the Army into half, did he seriously consider that this could be implemented by the time I had to leave in June 1948?

He smiled in a cryptic way and said "How then do you propose to leave in June 1948, is it then your intention to turn this country over to chaos and bloodshed and civil war?"

To this I replied that there was one thing of which I was quite certain, and that was that I was going in June 1948, and withdrawing all British personnel unless by some miraculous event all Indian parties united together to beg us not to go in the interests of the Indian people as a whole Such a request I would be prepared to consider laying before His Majesty's Government, though I could not guarantee what their answer would be

On the conclusion of the interview I introduced him to Mr Campbell Johnson

[1]*TP*, X, No 92, pp 149-150
[2]See *TP* IX, No 350, pp 622-623

XIV.9

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH[1]

TOP SECRET *8 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 6 to 8 p m

I asked Mr Jinnah whether he would be willing to join with the other high commands in issuing an appeal for no further provocative acts which could lead to bloodshed He asked me if I had seen in the newspapers an account of his speech in Bombay[2] I admitted I had, and acknowledged that he had already appealed for a truce, but I pointed out that a unilateral appeal appeared to me to be almost valueless, since the other side could always force bloodshed by their actions He agreed and said that if I wished him to join in an appeal for a truce against provocative action and bloodshed, he would be prepared to do so (As both Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh had told me that their own high commands would be prepared to do the same, this is a hopeful sign)

Mr Jinnah explained the origin of "Direct action", and said that until he had resorted to "direct action" the League position was becoming more and more insecure, but he denied that they had ever instigated bloodshed anywhere, though it could perhaps be said that they had created the situation in which Congress had started bloodshed (not Mr Jinnah's exact words, but he said something to that general effect)

I told Mr Jinnah that I was going to make my decision on what to

transfer of power would take a lot of time It was therefore most important that H M G 's decision should be announced as soon as possible "Time was the essence of the contract"

The second point was that Pakistan could not stand alone They would require to be friends with a big power Russia had no appeal for them, France was weak and divided, there remained only England and America, and of these the former was the natural friend "Apart from anything else", he added jokingly, "the devil you know is better than the devil you don't"

Towards the end of the interview Mr Jinnah turned inevitably to the size of Pakistan He prayed that there would be no question of a moth-eaten Pakistan, shorn of half Bengal and half the Punjab The agitation for partition of those Provinces was a Congress ramp He begged that the decision should not be taken solely on a counting of heads He quoted the case of Poland after the first World War, and the recent case of Trieste I confess I did not see the analogy, but suggested that in these days of democracy, the counting of heads was practically decisive He claimed that the present population of Bengal was entirely fictitious owing to the large number of labourers who were not Bengalis at all, but who had been imported from other parts of India

He asked to see the various schemes that the Viceroy had told him that I had prepared as a result of the discussions of the last fortnight, but I hedged

The meeting concluded with great affability and Mr Jinnah said that he looked forward to another talk I feel, however, that we had pretty well covered the ground and that there is little more to be said

XIV.11

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH[1]

TOP SECRET *10 April 1947*

Mr Jinnah came at 4 o'clock, but I arranged to leave the field clear for Lord Ismay to talk to him until 4 45 and go through the points he had written down after his last meeting From 4 45 to 6 30 I was present at the discussions

Mr Jinnah could not possibly have been more clear that he would have nothing to do with the Cabinet Mission plan, and so we went

I had seen the leaders of the Sikhs, who had assured me that they would resist to the last man any attempt to put in a Muslim League Government in the Punjab, and I told him that the only solution was for me to make a decision, or possibly leave a decision to the people of the Province about partition, and then we could go out of Section 93

He agreed I then called upon him to use his great influence in the Punjab to stop further demands for elections, and to cease all political demonstrations, and he agreed to use his best endeavours to this end

We then discussed the Frontier I told him of the conversations I had had with Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Pandit Nehru and Sir Olaf Caroe, and subsequently with Dr Khan Sahib [1] I told him I was disappointed at the reaction of the Muslim League to the gesture of the Frontier Government in releasing 5,000 political prisoners I said that unless the Muslim League called off all further provocative action, all processions and picketing, and toned down their agitation for fresh elections, then I would be bound to uphold the Government and I would not hesitate to draft in extra troops to keep law and order I told him that the only hope of my considering fresh election in the N W F P would be if the Muslim League behaved themselves from now and until I gave a decision

I called upon him to use his influence to this end, and he fell over himself in promising faithfully to do everything he could, for he said he completely agreed with everything I had said, and was most grateful for being given the chance to co-operate

He seems to mean what he says, but whether he does and how much influence he is able to bring to bear remains to be seen

At all events, he seems to be in a thoroughly chastened frame of mind about the difficulties of Pakistan, and he expressed the hope that if a final solution cannot be found by June 1948, the parties in India would band together to ask the British to stay on to see the implementation of the partition proposal through I expressed doubt as to whether this would in fact be agreed to

[1]In a meeting on 16 April 1947, attended by Liaquat, Nehru, Caroe and others, the Viceroy urged the need for peace in the NWFP In a subsequent meeting on 18 April 1947, attended by Nehru, Caroe, Dr Khan Sahib and others, the Viceroy suggested that the Governor issue a statement announcing that elections would be held in the province in due course He also advised that the Provincial Government consider releasing political offenders and removing restrictions on freedom of speech and on public meetings, albeit not on processions See *TP*, X, No 162, pp 286-292 and No 171, pp 315-319

they had so hedged about their amnesty that they would be able to keep anybody they liked in prison, and that those leaders whom they could not afford to let out had already been charged with violence, even though they had only taken part in peaceful processions He further said that he doubted whether any one of the 5,000 prisoners would take advantage of the release offer, he thought they would insist on remaining in prison He told me that so long as Dr Khan Sahib and his Government were in command they would continue to make provocative trouble, which would be hard for the Muslim League to sit down to

I then told him that the situation was quite clear If he and his friends could not control the Muslim League on the Frontier, and would not insist upon their taking their release from prison when it was offered, and on their not taking part in any further provocative demonstration, then they would be playing straight into the hands of the Congress Government, who would declare that they were being subjected to the use of force to try and overthrow the Government, and would in the result call upon me to give them additional support which I should have no choice but to provide In fact I had every intention of providing it, and would draft in the necessary additional troops without hesitation The one way, in fact, which would prevent me from giving an impartial decision as to whether fresh elections were necessary, would be for the Muslim League to continue to use force and to make trouble on the Frontier

He said it would be very difficult to carry out my wishes unless he could make a statement to his people up there to the effect that I was now considering the question of whether to order fresh elections, in fact, he said, unless he might repeat what I had told him publicly, he did not see how he could exercise any restraining influence

I told him that I could not agree to his repeating what I had said to him, that he must use it merely as personal advice of his own But I told him that there would shortly be an announcement that I was going to the Frontier next week, and that it stood to reason that when I went there I should want to see the leaders of both sides, that I would give a decision on the N W F P question at the same time as on the wider position of India as a whole—within the next month, and that this was the line I suggested would be the best to pursue [4]

I left him finally with an exhortation to do his best to stop his people, in their own interests, from continuing to make trouble

[1] *TP*, X, No 186, pp 349-351
[2] XIV 16
[3] See note 1 to No XIV 16
[4] See note 1 to No 351, Vol I, Part I

I said "You told me that your objection to the Cabinet Mission plan was the fact that the Centre would be controlled by a majority vote of the Congress, and would be able to exert economic and military pressure to the detriment of Groups B and C Is that your objection to the scheme?" He nodded his head vehemently, and I then said "I have been looking into this, and there is little doubt that the provision in the Cabinet Mission plan whereby the Constituent Assembly votes on any major communal issue in two parts, and unless there is a majority of the members of both communities present and voting the measure cannot be passed "[5] If that were so, I pointed out, then surely he would have as many safeguards as he would ever get under Pakistan with a Central Defence Council He replied emphatically "No, it is laid down that a difference of opinion on a major communal question should be decided by the Federal Court It is clear that the President of the Constituent Assembly is not obliged to take their ruling I asked the Chief Justice what he would do if his ruling were disregarded, and he replied that the Federal Court would refuse to give any more rulings That would then leave it open to Congress to impose their will by majority vote

"In fact the leaders of Congress are so dishonest, so crooked, and so obsessed with the idea of smashing the Muslim League, that there are no lengths to which they will not go to do so, and the only way of giving Pakistan a chance is to make it an independent nation of the British Commonwealth, with its own army, and the right to argue cases at any Central Council on this basis "

I was quite unable to shake him from this decision, and he begged me not to ask him to reconsider the Cabinet Mission plan again

[1]*TP*, X, No 229, pp 451-454
[2]See No 96, Vol I, Part I
[3]See *TP*, X, No 173, pp 320-324
[4]Mountbatten did this on 26 April See *TP*, X, No 229, note 2, p 453
[5]This sentence is evidently not complete

XIV.21

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND CHUNDRIGAR[1]

TOP SECRET *2 May 1947,*
11 15 am-12 noon

I gave Mr Chundrigar a brief review of my trip to the N W F P and

the Punjab, and a rough outline of the plan that Lord Ismay was taking home

Mr Chundrigar asked me whether I had formed the impression that fresh elections should be held in the N W F P

I told him that I was not prepared to give him my impressions on this point while the civil disobedience movement leading to violence was still in full swing in that Province I said that so long as that movement continued there would in no circumstances be fresh elections, and that if the movement gathered momentum I would draft up fresh troops and fight it, that I would never yield to violence, and that if the Muslim League had not completely stopped all violence on the frontier before I left on the transfer of power, I should hand the Province over to the Congress Government

We then discussed the partition of Bengal, at the mere proposal of which he seemed deeply distressed, since he pointed out that East Bengal could not live by itself I told him that that was no particular concern of mine, since I was intensely opposed to partition in any case and would only grant it on the express request of the people of the Provinces themselves I did tell him that we were going to allow a vote to be taken first on whether Bengal, if it remained united, should be independent, or go to Pakistan, or to Hindustan, and that this should give Suhrawardy a chance of forming a coalition government, granting joint electorates, and holding Bengal together

He agreed that this was the ideal solution, but was afraid that if it were left to the Constituent Assembly representatives to vote on partition, those representatives were very few and completely in the hands of Congress, and would be bound to vote for partition He therefore urged that a referendum on partition should be taken by all those on the electoral roll of Bengal being allowed to vote on this issue

I told him that I would give his proposal my serious consideration, but would certainly not carry it out if it (a) unduly delayed a decision on the transfer of power, or (b) was likely to cause any rioting or bloodshed

Mr Chundrigar then asked me why I would not let Mamdot form a ministry in the Punjab, since he had a majority in the Assembly He called upon me to be consistent and to face up to the Sikh threat of violence in the Punjab even as I was facing up to the League threat of violence in N W F P

I denied that this was a parallel case, since the previous Unionist Ministry had been thrown out through Muslim League violence and that was why we were in Section 93 in that Province I said I had no intention of turning over government to a one-party Ministry for the last three or four weeks before a decision was taken about the transfer

XIV.24

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/193

TOP SECRET *5 May 1947*

12 noon-12 35 pm

He said he had had a satisfactory interview with Her Excellency on health matters, and had no departmental matters to raise with me

I therefore concentrated on talking about the Punjab which is his home I explained to him at great length the idea of notional partition for voting purposes He had to ask me to repeat the scheme four times and I am not absolutely certain that he understood it when he left, although he said he did

I asked him if he had considered whether there should be a referendum or whether a vote of the representatives of the Constituent Assembly would do

He was against a referendum as it would take too long, was liable to start rioting, and would not be likely to give a different answer to that of the representatives of the Constituent Assembly, which he favoured but only provided that it was quite clearly laid down that the representatives of the Constituent Assembly had to be readjusted to represent the districts in notional partititon, since he pointed out that a number of them did not even belong to the Punjab

I promised to follow this up [1]

We then discussed the fact that notional partition or almost any form of partition agreed upon for the Punjab would cut the Sikhs almost exactly into halves—18 lakhs on the one side 20 lakhs on the other, and that the Sikhs had now put in a demand to go up to the river Ravi and even up to the Chenab

Mr Ghazanfar Ali agreed that partition would be a great tragedy for the Sikhs, and that there might be difficulty in imposing such a partition against their will, though he pointed out that they made tremendous threats twelve years ago, at the time of the communal award, that they would die to the last man, whereas in fact they did not die even to the first man

I pointed out, however that if Mr Ghazanfar Ali was against the partition of the Punjab (and he reaffirmed that he was ardently against it), then the best service he could do towards a united Punjab would be to seek

post He said that he had complete faith in His Excellency, all of whose awards would be binding on him He vehemently and repeatedly declared his desire that His Excellency should stay on in India

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he was very honoured by Mr Jinnah's remarks However, he could not consider taking on a post such as Mr Jinnah had suggested nor could he think of anybody else who would wish to do so It would be an impossible position if the so-called "Arbitrator" was junior in rank to the Governors-General who would be the King's representatives

MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN asked how, if the two States wanted separate Governors-General, it was proposed that all assets would be divided by 1st October HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY replied that in this case the two Governors-General themselves would form an arbitration board He went on to say that he was under extreme pressure from Congress who had stated that they would not continue in the Interim Government unless they were granted Dominion status immediately after the announcement He felt that he might be able to hold the situation for a time but certainly not until the end of the year

After further discussion, HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY suggested that Mr Jinnah should send him a letter the following Monday (19th May) giving a full description of his suggestion of a supreme arbitrator and two Governors-General However, he wished it to be quite clear that he would reserve his personal position unless it was clearly stated by Mr Jinnah in this letter that, if his scheme was found by H M G to be impracticable, he would accept, as a less desirable alternative and as an interim measure, the appointment of a common Governor-General between the two States

MR JINNAH at first expressed himself violently opposed to this suggestion but eventually, after prolonged discussion, he said that he would think it over He pointed out that, if H M G decided, contrary to his own opinion, that his suggestion was unworkable, there would be no reason for him not to accept an alternative

MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN said that he quite clearly realised the point which His Excellency the Viceroy wished Mr Jinnah to include in his letter

It was agreed that Mr Jinnah should give this letter to Sir Eric Mieville on Monday morning, the 19th May, and that a copy of it would be sent to Congress HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY pointed out that, besides requiring the approval of H M G , Mr Jinnah's suggestion would also require agreement by Congress

MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN stated that the name of the Muslim State to

ASSAM

Abdul Bari Choudhry
Abdul Hai
A H Choudhury
Ajmal Ali Choudhury
Alep Haji
Dewan Muhammad Azraf
Haji Nazim-ud-Din Sarkar
Kazimuddin Ahmed
Mahmud Ali
M A Raqib
Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan
Maulana Ata-ur-Rahman
Mayen-ud-Din Chaudhury
Mueen-ud-Din Ahmed
Muhammad Ashraf Choudhury
Saif-ur-Rahman
Syed Ahmed Ali

INDEX OF PERSONS

The references in the Index are to Page Numbers

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The references are to Page Numbers

Note The Index of Persons and the Index of Subjects have been compiled by Mehnaz Siddiqui and Rehana Bokhari, members of the QAPP Staff

ASSAM STATES

1941 Statistics

TIBET

BHUTAN

BENGAL

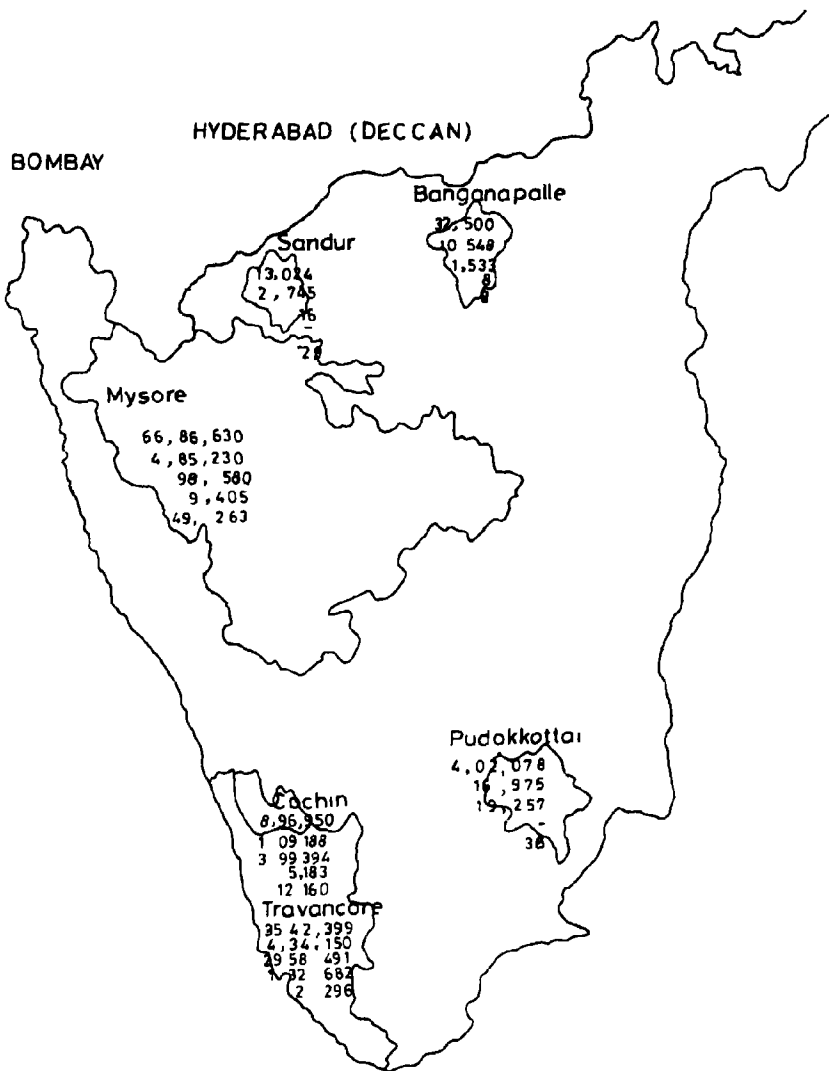
Khasi
24,091
2,100
186
1,86,332
877

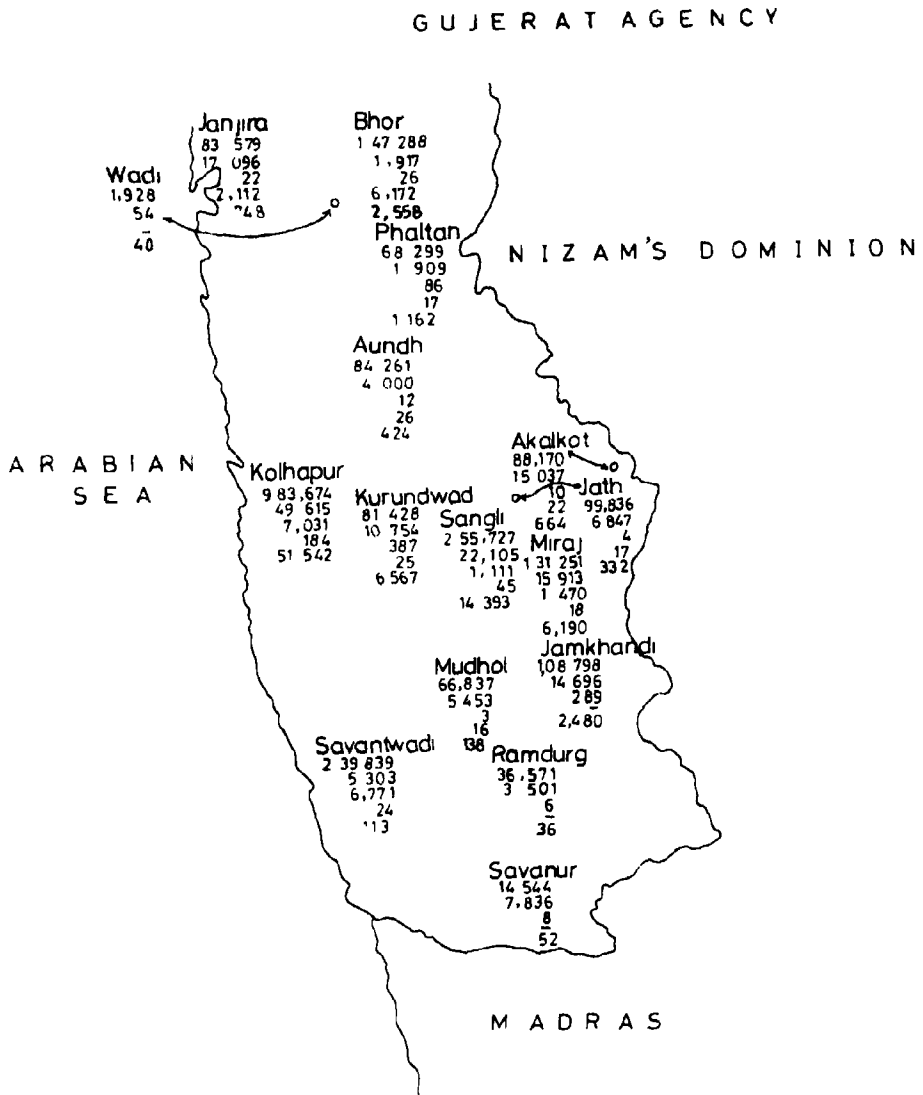
Manipur
3,03,636
29,562
25,727
1,52,805
339

BURMA

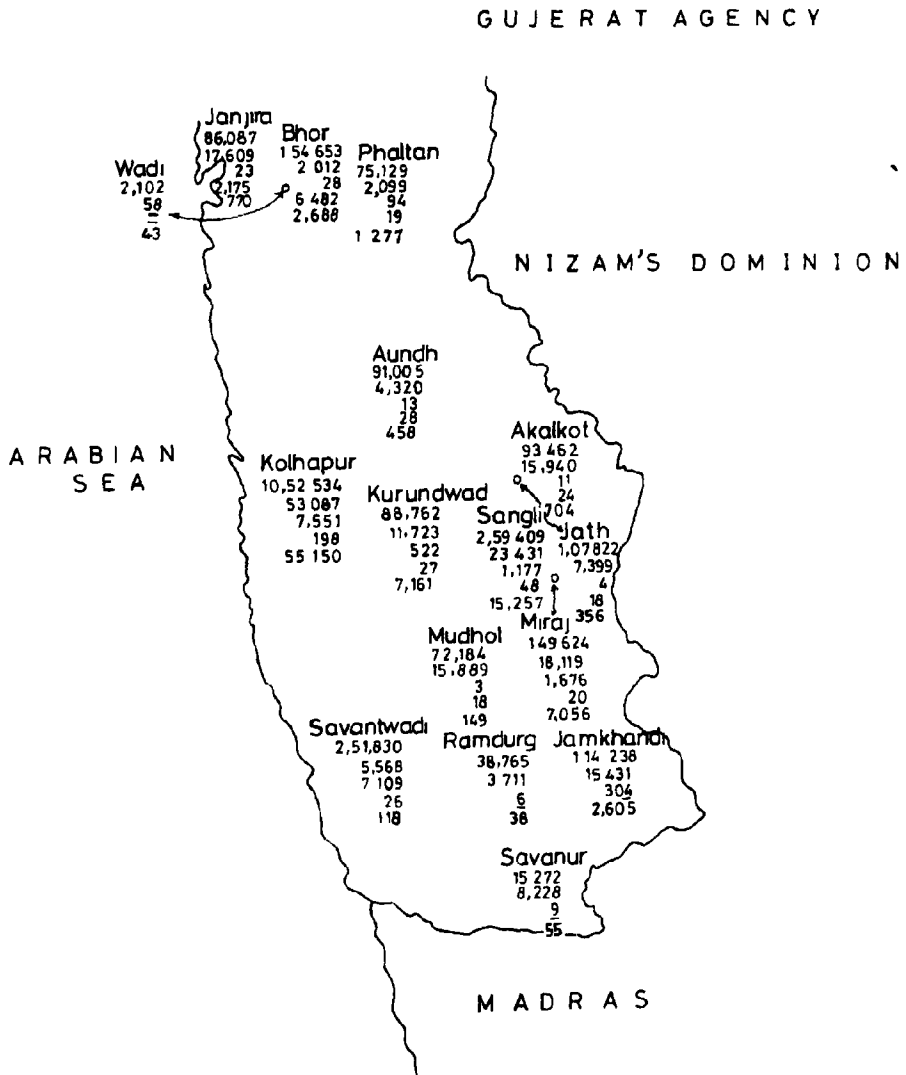
BAY
OF
BENGAL

Map 1

DECCAN AND MADRAS STATES
1941 Statistics
ORISSA
CENTRAL PROVINCES & BERAR
HYDERABAD (DECCAN)
BOMBAY
Banganapalle
Sandur
Mysore
66,86,630
4,85,230
98, 580
9,405
49, 263
Pudokkottai
Cochin
Travancore
4,34,150
INDIAN OCEAN
Map 9

DECCAN AND KOLHAPUR STATES

1941 Statistics

Map 13

DECCAN AND KOLHAPUR STATES

Present Estimated Population

Map 14

WESTERN INDIA STATES

1941 Statistics

Map 17

WESTERN INDIA STATES

Present Estimated Population

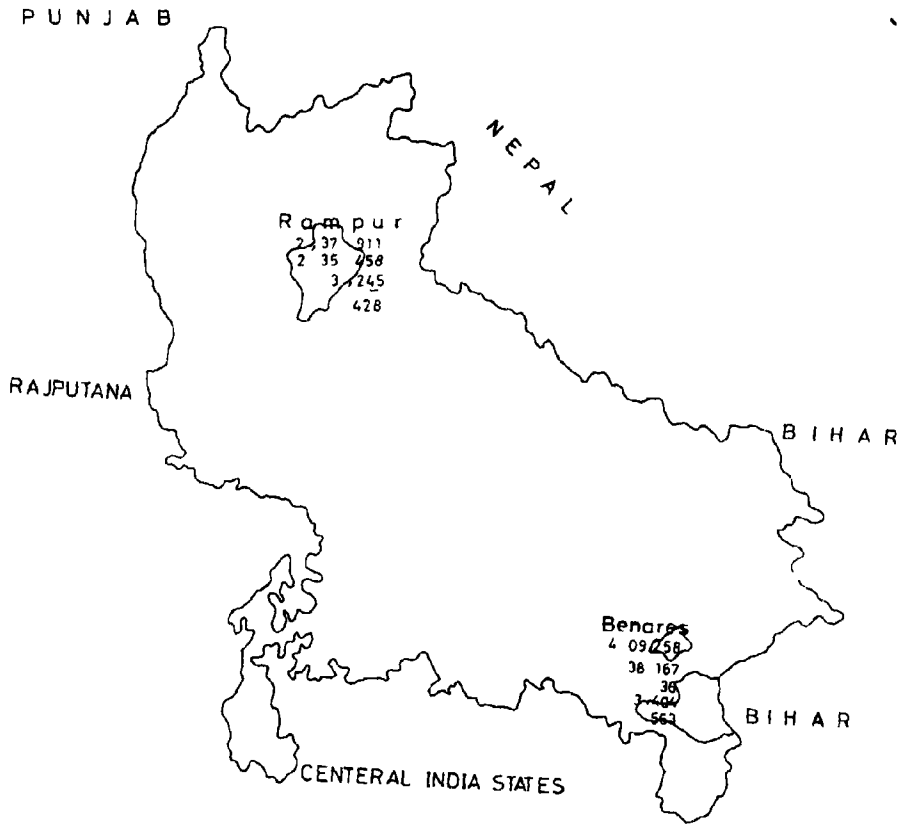
SIND

Map 18

PUNJAB STATES
1941 Statistics
Chamba
155 480
12 318
150
960
Kapurthala
61 546
2 13754
1 643
1,01,437
Mandi
2,27,457
4 328
2
806
Bilaspur
108 375
1,498
458
Suket
69,974
884
237
Sirmur
1,46 199
7 374
31
2,422
Tehri Garhwal
3 95,340
1 945
5
79
Farid kot
21 771
61,352
240
115,920
Malerkotla
23,479
33,881
115
30,634
Patiala
5,97 488
4,36,539
1,412
9,00,820
Kalsia
29 866
25,049
55
12,423
Nabha
1 46 430
70 373
213
1 23 028
Jind
2 68,348
50,972
134
42,357
Dujana
23 727
6,939
NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE
BALUCHISTAN
Bahawalpur
1,69 002
10 98,814
2 942
70,451
Other Punjab States
3,45 520
10 812
92
3 096
Loharu
23,923
3,960
9
Pataudi
17 728
128
RAJPUTANA
Kharpur(Sind)
49,604
2 53,690
92
779
1622
Map 23

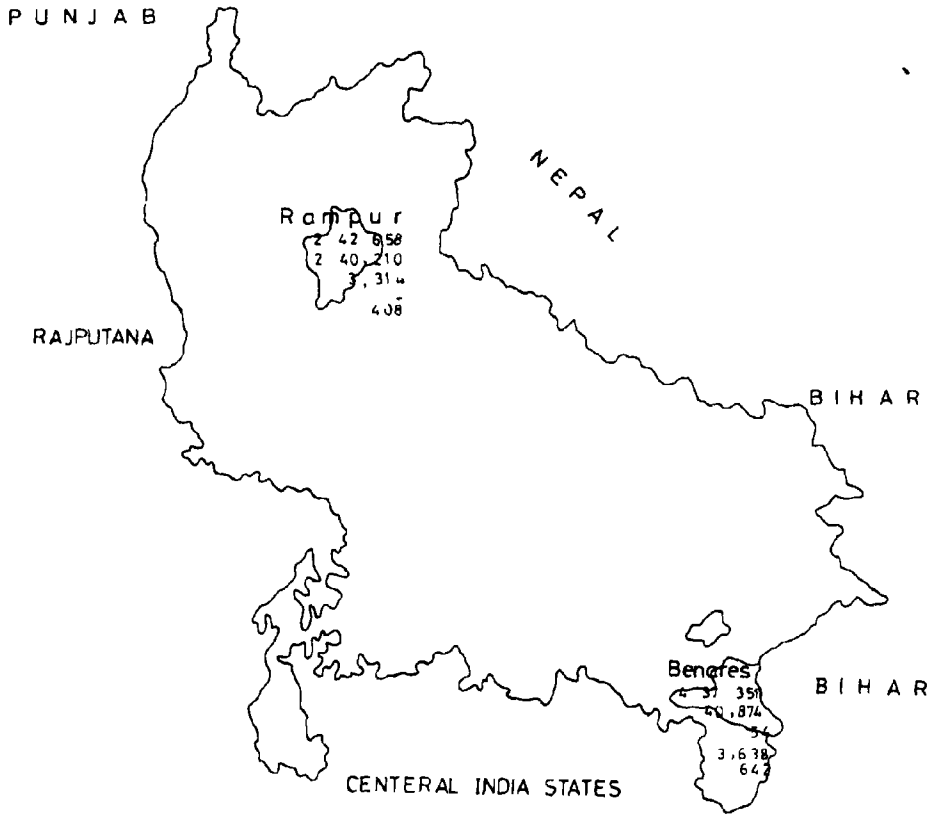
PUNJAB STATES
Present Estimated Population
KASHMIR
Chamba
1 67 930
13 302
162
1036
Mandi
2 37 101
4 586
2
854
Kapurthala
67 695
2 35,124
1 803
1 11 577
Bilaspur
1 13 820
1 57 5
5
480
Suket
76,964
974
254
Sirmur
1 50 586
7 622
52
2 7 72
Tehri Ganlawal
4 22 971
2140
5
86
Faridkot
23 951
67,492
264
1 27 510
Malerkotla
24 181
34 898
118
31 55 2
Patiala
6 57 238
4 80 194
1 552
9 90 900
Kalsia
31 694
26 606
53
13,144
Nobha
1 59 506
76 700
231
1 34 098
Jind
2 84 44
54 032
142
44 901
Dujana
24 671
7 217
NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE
Bahawalpur
1 99 442
12 96 598
3 464
83 14
Other Punjab States
3 59 320
11 232
104
3 2 24
Loharu
26,313
4 350
9
Pataudi
18 967
1 907
9
BALUCHISTAN
Khairpur(Sind)
56 052
2 75 371
105
883
1 839
Map 24

UNITED PROVINCES STATES

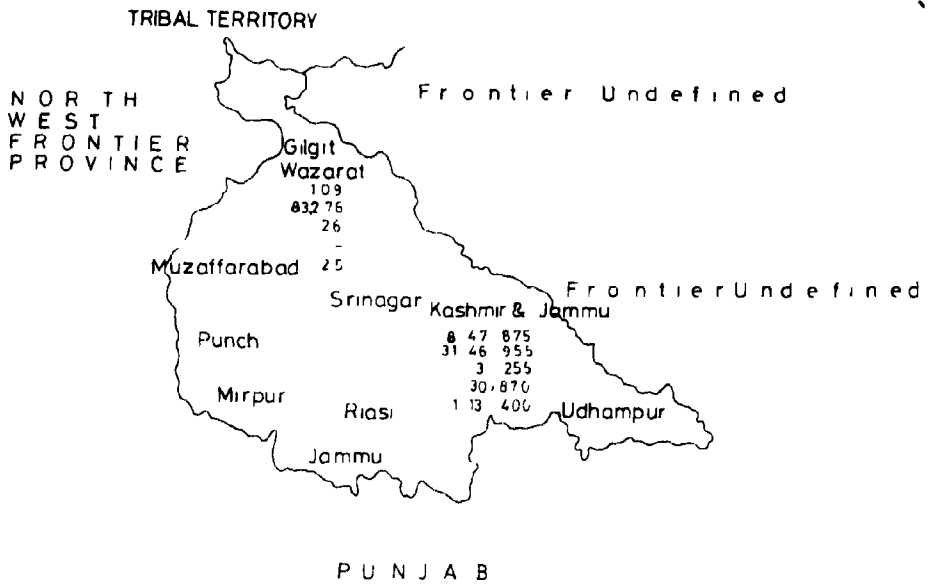
1941 Statistics

Map 25

UNITED PROVINCES STATES

Present Estimated Population

Map 26

KASHMIR AND JAMMU STATE WITH FEUDATORIES

Present Estimated Population

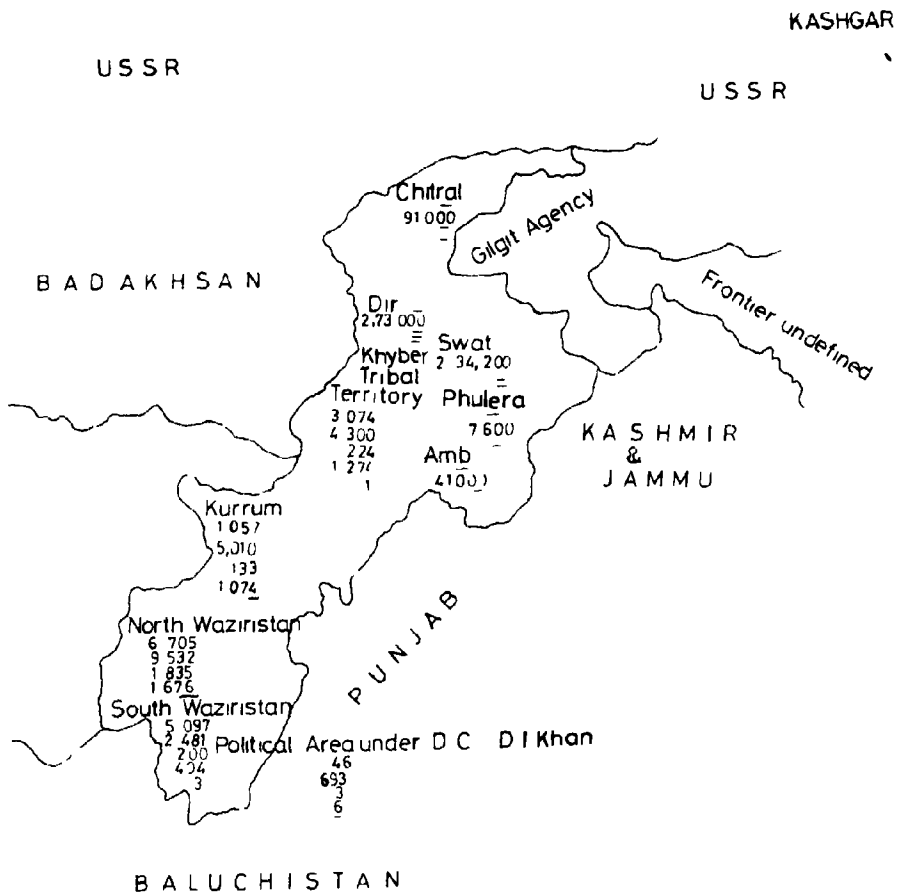
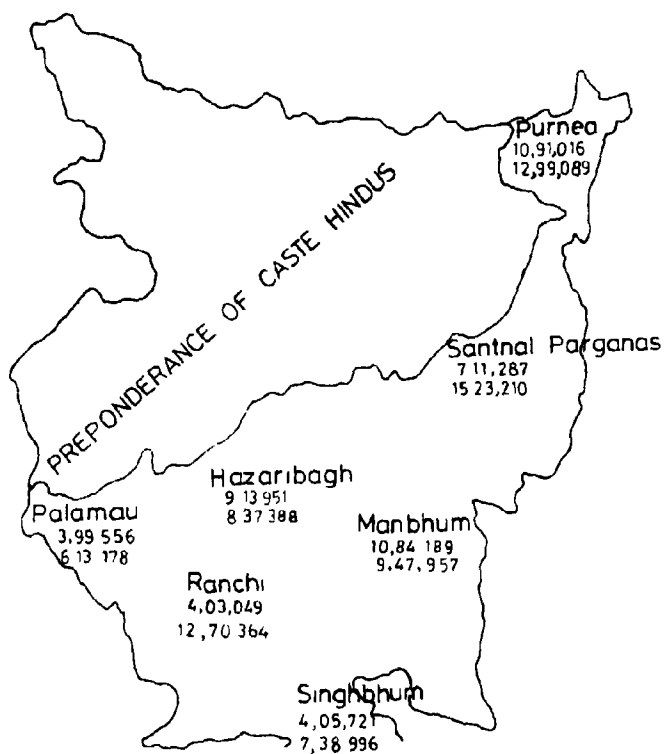
Map 28

BALUCHISTAN STATES

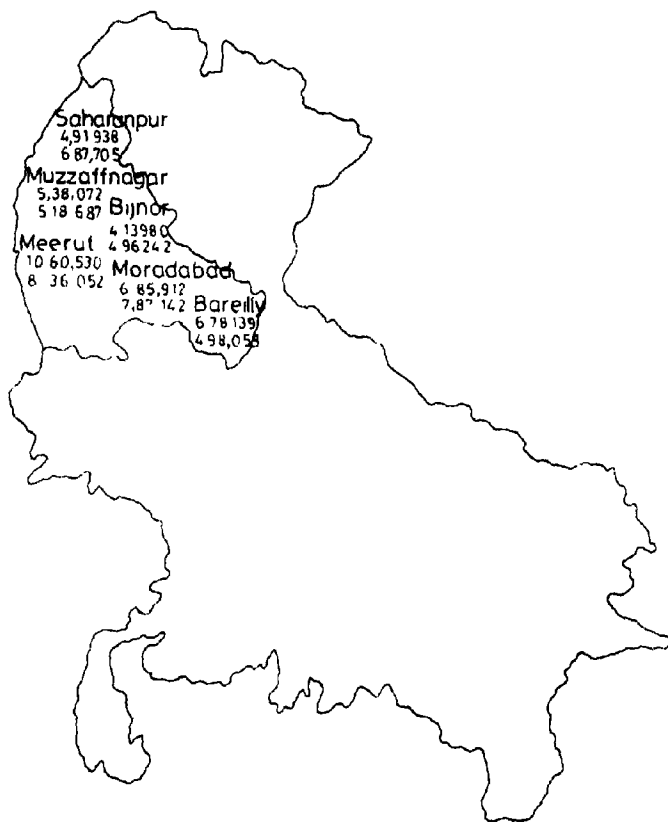
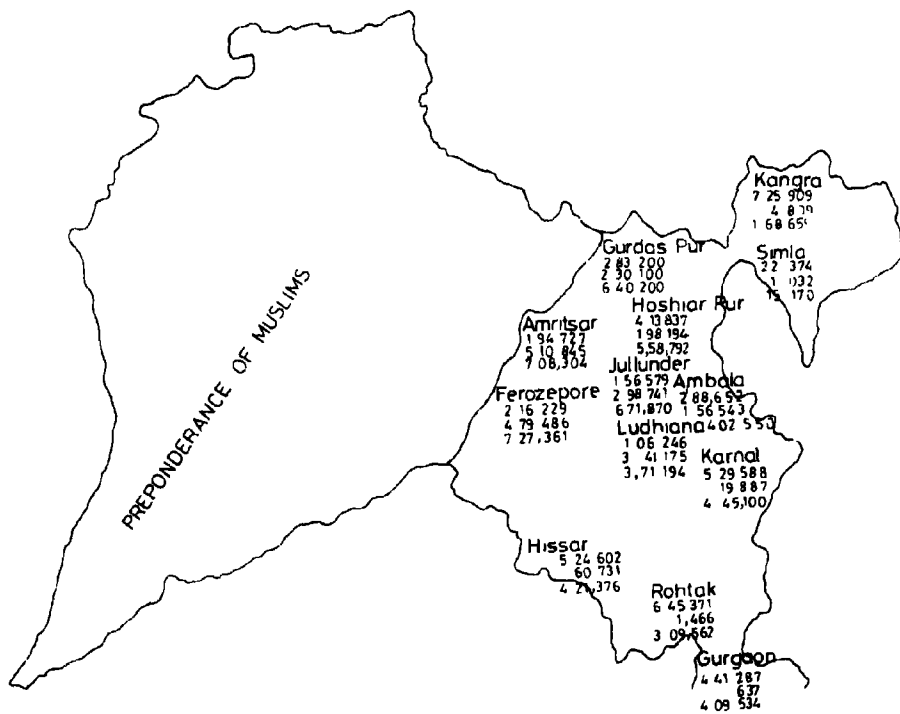
Present Estimated Population

Map 30

NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE STATES

Present Estimated Population

Map 32

MAP OF BIHAR, SHOWING A PART WHERE CASTE HINDUS & SIKHS DO NOT FORM A MAJORITY

Map 33

MAP OF U P SHOWING A PART WHERE CASTE HINDUS AND SIKHS DO NOT FORM A MAJORITY

MAP OF PUNJAB, SHOWING POPULATION OF CASTE HINDUS + SIKHS & OTHERS IN THE EASTERN DISTTS
PREPONDERANCE OF MUSLIMS
Kangra
7 25 909
Simla
22 374
Gurdas Pur
2 83 200
2 30 100
6 40 200
Hoshiar Pur
4 13 837
1 98 194
5,58,792
Amritsar
1 94 727
5 10 845
7 08,304
Jullunder
1 56 579
2 98 741
6 71,870
Ambala
1 56 543
Ferozepore
2 16 229
4 79 486
7 27,361
Ludhiana
1 06 246
3 41 175
3,71 194
Karnal
5 29 588
19 887
4 45,100
Hissar
5 24 602
60 731
Rohtak
6 45 371
1,466
3 09,562
4 41 287
637
4 09 534
Map 38

MAP OF BENGAL SHOWING A PART OF WESTERN BENGAL WHERE CASTE HINDUS PLUS SIKHS FORM A MAJORITY AGAINST OTHERS
Burdwan
9,64,958
925 774
Bankura
7,23 284
5,66,356
Hoogly
8,54,076
5,23,653
Midnapore
23,44,859
8,45,794

Map 39